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IN MEMORIAM

PROFESSOR WERNER JAEGER

AND

PROFESSOR A. SIZOO

The Editors of Vigiliae Christianae deeply regret to announce the death of two of the Associate Editors of the review, Professor Werner Jaeger and Professor A. Sizoo.

When shortly after the end of the second World War plans were made to start an international review of early Christian life and language, Professor Jaeger immediately promised his support and showed his interest, both by contributing a recension to one of the first fascicles and by exhorting scholars to publish papers in this review. Professor Sizoo took an active part in the discussions concerning the best form to be given to the new review, and in the course of the years contributed a number of papers and recensions. The Board of Editors of Vigiliae Christianae will remember both scholars with deep gratitude.

HIPPOLYTUS AND THE INTRODUCTION OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA

BY

GEORGE OGG

For long the distinction of having fixed the beginning of the Christian era has been accredited to Dionysius Exiguus, a native of Scythia, who lived as a monk in Rome from about the beginning of the sixth century until about 540. In 525 he prepared an Easter table which, so far as its first 19 years (513–531) are concerned, is simply a copy of the last 19 years of the 95-year Easter table commonly attributed to Cyril of Alexandria [1]. The particulars given for its remaining 95 years (532–626) come from Dionysius himself, but they were determined in accordance with the principles of the Cyrillan table, and they are arranged under the same rubrics except that in place of *anni diocletiani* there are given *anni* $\overline{Dni}$ $\overline{nri}$ $\overline{IHV}$ $\overline{XPI}$. For making this change Dionysius gives the following reason in his letter prefatory to his table addressed to an otherwise unknown bishop Petronius: 'I have not wished to preserve in my cycles the memory of one who was ungodly and a persecutor, but rather have chosen to denote the times from the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ' [2]. The first year in Dionysius' own part of the table is the 248th of the era of Diocletian, and it is entered as the year DXXXII of our Lord Jesus Christ. The particulars —epact, indiction, etc. —given for it show that it is the year 532 of our present era.

It used to be thought that in fixing the epoch of his era Dionysius proceeded as follows. Knowing that Augustus had died in 767 a.u.c., he reckoned that the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius comprised a part of 783 a.u.c. Gathering from Lk. iii. 23 that Jesus was entering upon the thirtieth year of his age at the commencement of his ministry, he counted back twenty-nine years and so equated

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[1] That it is his is now much disputed.

[2] Migne, *P.L.* lxvii, 20.

754 a.u.c. to A.D. 1. In recent times it has been maintained that Dionysius proceeded in a somewhat different way. According to Oppert [3] he shared the belief of many of his contemporaries that the resurrection had taken place on 25 March, and his table showed him that Easter Sunday would fall on that date in the year 279 of the era of Diocletian (A.D. 563). Adopting the 532-year cycle he inferred that the first Easter Sunday must have been 25 March 784 a.u.c. (A.D. 31). Since further he held that Jesus at his death was thirty years of age, he made the year 279 of the era of Diocletian the year 563 (=532+31) of his own era, and consequently made the first in his own part of the table, the 248th of the era of Diocletian, A.D. 532.

But in recent times it has also been maintained in certain quarters that Dionysius did not reach his conclusion by computation, that he did not understand and did not employ the 532-year Easter table, and that already in his time the date of our Lord's birth given by him was historical at least to some [4]. It has also been suggested that the Christian era was introduced by Hippolytus, that it was first used in the East, and that Dionysius merely popularized it in the West [5].

Particulars regarding the date of our Lord's birth are found in the *Commentary on Daniel* by Hippolytus, in both his chronological works, the *Canon* and the *Chronicle*, and also in an old Slavonic fragment derived professedly from a work by him on the Revelation of John. The purpose of the present study is to examine these particulars and then to inquire whether he can in fact have introduced our present era and whether he has been shown to have done so.

[3] See Ginzel, *Handbuch der math. u. techn. Chronologie*, III, p. 179.

[4] So C. W. Jones, *Bedae Opera de Temporibus* (1943), p. 70. Jones notes that in the list of consuls given by the chronographer of 354, under Caesar and Paulus, the consuls of A.D. 1, there is the note: *Hoc cons. dominus Iesus Christus natus est VIII Kal. Ian. d. Ven. luna XV*; but this note may well be a later insertion. With regard to this list of consuls Mommsen, *Chronica minora I* (= *Mon. Germ. hist. Auct. antiquiss. IX*), p. 56, writes: 'Ipsi fasti longe emendatissimi sunt qui ad nos pervenerunt'.

[5] So e.g. W. H. P. Hatch, *An Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts*, p. 19. What Hatch writes there is apparently based on the article by Blake referred to below.

I.

His *Commentary on Daniel* is one of his earlier writings. Internal evidence indicates that it belongs to the time immediately following the issue in 202 by Septimius Severus of an edict forbidding both Christian and Jewish propaganda. In IV. 9, 2 the Lord's birth is dated the 42nd year of the reign of Augustus —*ἐν τῷ τεσσαρακοστῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει ἐπὶ Αὐγούστου Καίσαρος γεγέννηται ὁ Κύριος* (ed. Bonwetsch, p. 206). In the edition of Bonwetsch, p. 242, IV. 23, 3 runs as follows: *ἡ γὰρ πρώτη παρουσία τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἡ ἔνσαρκος ἐν ᾗ γεγέννηται ἐν Βηθλεέμ, [πρὸ τεσσάρων ἀπριλίων] ἐγένετο πρὸ ὀκτὼ καλανδῶν ἰανουαρίων, ἡμέρᾳ τετράδι, βασιλεύοντος Αὐγούστου τεσσαρακοστὸν καὶ δεύτερον ἔτος, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀδὰμ πεντακισχιοστῷ καὶ πεντακοσιοστῷ ἔτει.* Here the Lord's birth is put in the 5500th year from Adam, and Hippolytus proceeds to set out his reasons for accepting this date. First he quotes Exod. xxv. 10f. and, pointing out that the length, breadth and height of the ark of the covenant amount in all to $5\frac{1}{2}$ cubits, says that these symbolize the 5,500 years from Adam at the end of which the Saviour was born. He then quotes from Jn. xix. 14 'it was about the sixth hour' and, understanding by that $5\frac{1}{2}$ hours, takes each hour to correspond to a thousand years of the world's life: the world, which is to endure for 6,000 years, was in its 5500th year when Christ was born. It appears then that *c.* 202 Hippolytus held that the Lord was born in the 42nd year of the reign of Augustus and that he was born in 5500 a.m.

His chronological works belong to a later period. In the *Canon* reference is made to the first year of the reign of Alexander Severus (222–223). The *Chronicle* mentions the thirteenth year of that reign (234–235); and since according to the *Liberian Catalogue* Hippolytus was deported to Sardinia in that same year, it may be concluded that the *Chronicle* was published shortly before his departure. But in his *Philosophumena* 10, 30 he refers to his *Chronicle*; and since the former work is hardly likely to have been written after his deportation, it may be that there were two editions of the *Chronicle* [6] and that the earlier of these was the *ΧΡΟΝΙΚΩΝ* mentioned in the 12th line of the list of the works of

[6] So Mommsen and Harnack.

Hippolytus engraved on his statue. Certainly the intervals between events given in the *Chronicle* and those between the same events as deduced from the *Canon* are in such striking agreement as leaves practically no room for doubt that when he composed the *Canon*, Hippolytus had at least the strictly chronological part of the *Chronicle* before him.

In the *Chronicle* [7] he reckons 4842 years from Adam to the Exile, thence to the birth of Christ 660 years, thence to his passion 30 years, thence to the 13th year of the reign of Alexander Severus 206 years, and all the years from Adam until then as 5738. From this it follows that he put the birth of Christ in 5502 a.m. In the same work [8], reckoning by passovers, he gives the following intervals: from Adam to the Flood 2242 years, thence to Abraham 1141 years, thence to the Exodus 430 years, thence to the passover of Joshua 41 years, thence to the passover of Hezekiah 864 years, thence to the passover of Josiah 114 years, thence to the passover of Ezra 107 years, and thence to the birth of Christ 563 years; whence again it follows that he put the birth of Christ in 5502 a.m.

It is likely that, in constructing his *Canon*, Hippolytus proceeded for the most part as the pseudo-Cyprianic Computist of 243 did in constructing his. He understood the first creation day to have been 25 March and put the creation of the moon in the evening of the fourth creation day. In consequence according to him in the first year of the world the moon was full on Thursday, 29 March. The *Canon*, as he originally built it up began then with the line

29 March E D C B A G F.

But when he published it, he gave its original 13th line [9],

13 April G F E D C B A,

as its first line, that being the one appropriate to the first year of the reign of Alexander Severus onwards from which it was to serve as a ready reckoner of the dates of Passover. In the *Canon* Hippolytus inserted a series of notes. In determining the place of each

[7] Ed. Bauer, p. 194 and p. 196.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 198–200.

[9] From Adam to the 1st year of Alexander is a period of (5738–13) years = 5725 years; and $5725 = 51 \times 112 + 13$.

of these he had regard to what he had already written in his *Chronicle* as to its years from Adam or as to the interval between it and the last noted preceding event. From the point answering to Thursday, 29 March (the meeting place of the fifth line and the seventh column) to the point where the note γενεσις χ ι is entered, is a period of (n × 112 + 13) years, n being an integer. When n = 49, this is 5501, and the date of the Lord's birth according to the *Canon* also is 5502 a.m.

Since in his *Commentary on Daniel* Hippolytus maintains on Scriptural grounds that the Lord's birth took place in 5500 a.m., there has been a certain reluctance to allow that he ever abandoned that date. Whilst nothing is known with certainty as to his reason [10], he held that the birth of Christ took place on a passover day; and a view entertained by some is that he thought of it as an event to be remembered year by year on passover day. He inserted the note of it in his *Canon*, so it is said, in the place where it stands because in 223 the 2nd April was passover day and so the day of its remembrance. But, so it is maintained, he still held that it took place in 5500 a.m. and from the *Canon* deduced that its month-date was 25 March. Onwards, however, from 223 (indeed from the year of the crucifixion) all the events noted in the *Canon* fell to be remembered every passover day, for each of them had taken place, or was assumed to have taken place, on a passover day. Why then has Hippolytus entered the notes of them in different places? The reason undoubtedly is that he determined the places to which he assigned the notes according to the particulars he had given in his *Chronicle* regarding the years in which the events to be noted actually took place. According to the *Chronicle* the Lord's birth took place in 5502 a.m., and in that year according

[10] One suggestion is that he assumed that Zacharias was highpriest and that Gabriel had appeared to him (Lk. i. 11) on the Day of Atonement, the tenth day of the seventh month (Tishri), also that he allowed Zacharias four days to return home and so put the conception of John the Baptist on full-moon day of that month and consequently that of Jesus, six months later, on full-moon day of the first month (Nisan). But γένεσις means 'birth'. Another suggestion is that gathering from Lk. ii. 41 ff. that Jesus was twelve years old when he accompanied his parents to Jerusalem at the time of passover, Hippolytus concluded that he must have been born on passover day twelve Jewish moon-years before then.

to the *Canon* passover day was 2 April. According then to these two works taken together the Lord's birth took place on 2 April 5502 a.m.

It must apparently be concluded that whilst Hippolytus approved of the allegorical method of interpreting Scripture, he did not consider himself bound to adhere quite strictly to numbers involved in such interpretations. Certain passages interpreted allegorically might point to 5500 a.m. as the year of the Lord's birth, but that did not prevent him, on the basis of a detailed investigation made at a later time, from giving 5502 a.m. as its date. Here it may be observed that the statement 'it was about the sixth hour' by which, as already noted, Hippolytus understood 5½ hours, refers to the crucifixion. The fact that from it he concluded that Christ was born in 5500 a.m. indicates that in his opinion conclusions of a statistical nature resulting from allegorical interpretation of Scripture were no more than approximate. Actually in his *Commentary on Daniel* he did not need to establish the precise year of the Lord's birth: it was sufficient for his purpose to show that he had lived *c.* 5500 a.m.

The two passages of the *Commentary on Daniel* quoted above may now be considered in greater detail.

1. The words *ἐν τῷ τεσσαρακοστῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει ἐπὶ Αὐγούστου Καίσαρος* in IV. 9, 2 may be considered genuine. The same date for the Lord's birth (2 B.C.) is found in Eusebius [11], Epiphanius [12] and Orosius [13]. It rests in part on a combination of Lk. iii. 1 and Lk. iii. 23: 15 years of Tiberius and 15 years of Augustus make 30 years, the age at which our Lord entered on his public ministry; and Augustus reigned 57 years. Hippolytus may himself have reasoned in this way. But he made considerable use of the work of Clement of Alexandria, and in this matter he may have been indebted to him. Clement also breaks the 30 years of Lk. iii. 23 into 15 in the reign of Tiberius and 15 in that of Augustus [14]; and

[11] *H.E.* I. v. 2: *Chronicle*, ed. Schoene II, p. 144 and p. 145.

[12] *Haeres.* LI. 22, 3 (ed. Holl II, p. 284) and elsewhere: *De mensuris et ponderibus* (ed. Dindorf IV. pt. I, p. 16). In *Ancoratus* 60, 3 (ed. Holl I, p. 71) *δευτέρῳ* needs doubtless to be supplied after *τεσσαρακοστῷ*.

[13] *Hist.* I. i and VII. ii (ed. Zangemeister, p. 3 and p. 236).

[14] *Strom.* I. xxi. 145, 4.

since he assigned to Augustus a reign of 43 years [15] reckoned apparently from the autumn of 30 B.C., when Egypt became subject to the Romans, he must have assigned to him a reign of 57 years reckoned from 43 B.C.

2. Essentially the text of IV. 23, 3 quoted above is that of B (the Chalki MS.), of A (the Watopedi MS.), of S (the Greek text underlying the Old Slavonic), and of P (the Paris MS. —Reg. Par. gr. 159). In J (the Chigi MS.) the passage is as follows: *Ἡ γὰρ πρώτη παρουσία τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἡ ἔνσαρκος ἐν Βηθλεὲμ ἐπὶ Αὐγούστου γεγένηται πεντακισχιλιοστῷ καὶ πεντακοσιοστῷ ἔτει.* Closely similar must have been the Greek text underlying the following sentence from a passage which Georgius, bishop at Horta, in a letter he wrote in 714 expressly states was taken from the Fourth Book of the *Commentary on Daniel* by Hippolytus: 'The first appearing of our Lord in the flesh took place at Bethlehem in the days of Augustus, in the year 5500 a.m.' [16]

Bonwetsch's conclusions [17] as to the relations of these authorities to one another and to the original text may be thus set out:

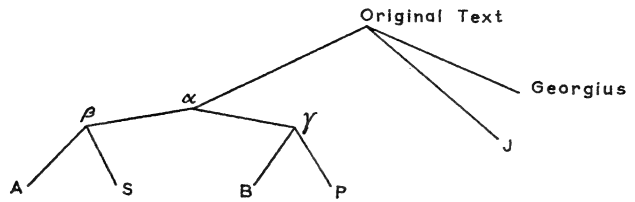

Fig. 1.

If in the original text the Lord's birth was dated a Wednesday, the 25th December, the 42nd year of the reign of Augustus and 5500 a.m., then all these particulars must have passed into *α* since all are present in ASBP, but in Georgius and in J they must have been reduced to the days of Augustus and 5500 a.m. But which of these four can in fact have stood in the original text?

(1) That here Hippolytus gave the date 5500 a.m. is certain, since he proceeds to show how it was obtained.

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[15] *Ibid.* I. xxi. 144, 2.

[16] Paul de Lagarde, *Analecta syriaca*, p. 115.

[17] In *Nachrichten v. d. Kgl. Gesellsch. d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1895, pp. 515 ff.; *ibid.*, 1896, pp. 16–42; *T.U.* n.f. I (= 16), 2, 1897.

(2) The 42nd year of the reign of Augustus is a date that cannot have been unacceptable to copyists, and it is much more likely that it had no place in the original text than that it was rejected in the transition to each of the independent authorities Georgius and J. It occurs earlier in IV. 9, 2, and we may conclude that from there it was written into the present passage in the transition to *α*.

(3) In the 42nd year of the reign of Augustus (2 B.C.) 25 December was not a Wednesday, and two possibilities fall to be considered.

The one is that Hippolytus wrote *ἡμέρᾳ τετράδι*, but gave another month-date which was omitted in the transition to Georgius and to J and replaced or supplemented by 25 December in the transition to ASBP. Another month-date is suggested by the words *πρὸ τεσσάρων ἀπριλίων* of A. If they are the remnants of an original *πρὸ τεσσάρων νωνῶν ἀπριλίων*, then Hippolytus has here assigned the Lord's birth to the same month-date and the same day of the week to which he later assigned it in his *Canon*. But whereas here he puts the birth in 5500 a.m., in his *Canon* he put it in 5502 a.m. The words *πρὸ τεσσάρων ἀπριλίων* are apparently the debris of an interpolation made from the *Canon*. The same may be said about the words *ἡμέρᾳ τετράδι*, but another explanation of them will be suggested below.

The other possibility is that Hippolytus is responsible only for *πρὸ ὀκτὼ καλανδῶν ἰανουαρίων* and not also for *ἡμέρᾳ τετράδι*. But no satisfactory suggestion has yet been made as to any process of reasoning whereby, when he wrote the *Commentary on Daniel*, he may have arrived at this month-date; nor can any source be named from which he may have derived it. Salmon (in *Hermathena* VIII, 178) observed that if *γένεσις* means 'conception', then the conception took place according to the *Canon* on passover day in 5502 a.m., and that according to the *Canon* passover day in 5500 a.m. was 25 March. Some have seen here an indication that Hippolytus may have put the birth on 25 December, but in IV. 24, 1 and 32, 1 *γένεσις* certainly seems to mean 'birth' (cf. Lake in Hastings' *ERE*, III, 606). In the *de Pascha computus* the corresponding word is *natiuitas*, the usual meaning of which is undoubtedly 'birth'. The words *πρὸ ὀκτὼ καλανδῶν ἰανουαρίων* are, we must conclude, an interpolation made in the transition to *α*.

Of the two interpolations *πρὸ τεσσάρων νωνῶν ἀπριλίων* and *πρὸ ὀκτὼ καλανδῶν ἰανουαρίων* the former may be the earlier. Its dilapidated condition suggests age. The presence in A of these two month-dates is curiously parallel to the double dating by consuls of the Lord's death in A and S in the remaining part of the verse to which the present passage belongs. The names of the second pair of consuls were apparently added under the influence of the Alexandrine era, and the same influence seems to be reflected in the words *πρὸ ὀκτὼ καλανδῶν ἰανουαρίων*: Annianus put the Lord's birth on that day; he also put it in the consulate of Q. Sulpicius Camerinus and C. Poppaeus Sabinus (Syncell., ed. Dindorf I, p. 596 f.), i.e. in A.D. 9, and since 25 December A.D. 9 was a Wednesday (Maximus Martyr, *Computus ecclesiasticus* xxxii, in Petavius, *Uranologium*, p. 335), the words *ἡμέρᾳ τετράδι* may have come in not with *πρὸ τεσσάρων νωνῶν ἀπριλίων* but with *πρὸ ὀκτὼ καλανδῶν ἰανουαρίων*. Indeed this seems the better account of them; for had they come in with the former of these month-dates, they are likely to have stood along with it and so immediately before *ἐγένετο*, in which case they would almost certainly have been rejected along with that month-date. The rejection of that month-date in the transition from α to γ and from β to S is easily understood in view of the Church's practice, begun in the fourth century [18], of commemorating the Lord's birth on 25 December.

We conclude (a) that originally this passage gave no particulars about the date of the Lord's birth other than those preserved in Georgius and J, (b) that in the transition to α there were added first *τεσσαρακοστὸν καὶ δεύτερον ἔτος* [19] (which may have necessitated the insertion *ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀδάμ)* and *πρὸ τεσσάρων νωνῶν ἀπριλίων* and then later *πρὸ ὀκτὼ καλανδῶν ἰανουαρίων ἡμέρᾳ τετράδι*, and (c) that finally the former of these month-dates became so unfamiliar and unacceptable that, while occasionally carried forward unintelligently and imperfectly, it was more often completely discarded.

In the Old Slavonic fragment which professes to reproduce the

[18] On recent attempts to carry the practice back to the reign of Aurelian see Cullmann, *Noël dans l'Eglise ancienne*, p. 23, n. 2.

[19] A later scribe influenced by the Alexandrine world-era would have written *μγ' ἔτος* (Syncell., ed. Dindorf I, p. 597).

exposition of Rev. xx. 1–3 given by Hippolytus [20], the birth of Christ is put in the 5500th [21] year from Adam, also in the 42nd year of the emperor Augustus, on the 25th December, on the sixth day of the week and about the seventh hour. It may be said at once that the exposition itself cannot be allowed the high authority that is claimed for it. Hippolytus did not interpret Rev. xx. 1–3 literally and so take the thousand years mentioned there to signify a period of a thousand years reckoned from the time of Christ's descent into Hades; as his work *Capita adversus Caium* shows, he found in this passage a reference to the years of the reign of the just and regarded the number a thousand as a symbol of their eternity [22]. It is clear, however, that the author of the exposition drew some of his particulars from writings of Hippolytus. It also appears that by his time the text of the *Commentary on Daniel* IV. 23, 3 had been burdened with a further interpolation, the refinement 'about the seventh hour', and that 'on the fourth day', which did not answer to 25 December 2 B.C., had by then been replaced there by 'on the sixth day'. The fragment testifies to the respect in which Hippolytus was held in the East, but it contains nothing that can be accepted with confidence either as supplementing or as modifying the conclusions already reached as to the time in which he put the Lord's birth.

II

We proceed now to the second part of our purpose, namely, to inquire, in the light of the conclusions to which the foregoing investigation points, whether the claim that Hippolytus introduced the Christian era can be or has been made good; and first we consider the question: What, so far as Hippolytus has disclosed it to us in his writings, was the nature and extent of his interest in the date of our Lord's birth?

In the ninth chapter of Book Four of his *Commentary on Daniel* he pauses to share with his readers an idea that has occurred to him. The Lord was born, he notes, in the 42nd year of the reign of Augustus. This appearing at the same time of these two, the

[20] *Hippolyts Werke*, ed. Bonwetsch-Achelis I. 2, p. 237 f.

[21] The text has 1500, but the total of the preceding figures is 5500.

[22] *Hippolyts Werke*, ed. Bonwetsch-Achelis I. 2, p. 246 f.

Roman emperor and Christ, was, he now sees, a foreshadowing of the opposition of the Roman empire to the kingdom of believers, and in it he finds reason for regarding the enrolment made at the time of Christ's birth as both an enrolment of the men of all nations as Romans and an enrolment of believers, whatever their race or tongue, as Christians. Obviously this train of thought had as its starting point simply the fact that Christ was born in the reign of Augustus. Hippolytus did not really need to say here in what year of the reign the birth took place. He mentions the 42nd year not of necessity but incidentally and apparently as a generally accepted year of the birth. The chapter indicates how largely he apprehended the significance for our world of Christ's coming into it, and such an apprehension might have led him on to the idea of a dating of events from it. But his mention here of a particular year of the reign of Augustus as its date is merely an *obiter dictum* and can hardly be regarded as an indication that at this time he had any such interest in it.

If our conclusions as to the original text of the *Commentary on Daniel* IV. 23, 3 are sound, Hippolytus is, in this passage, not concerned about the day of the week on which Christ was born, or about the month-date of his birth or even about the particular year of the reign of Augustus in which it took place. Here he adduces no more than this, that Christ was born in the days of Augustus in 5500 a.m. That suffices for his purpose, which is to allay the fears of Christians occasioned by the edict of Septimius Severus. The end of the world is not yet at hand. It is to endure in all for 6000 years, and so recently as in the reign of Augustus, when Christ was born in Bethlehem, it was but 5500 years old. Essentially Hippolytus' concern here is pastoral: he is interested in the date of the Lord's birth not as a chronologer, but as a minister of the Church who desires to comfort its members.

In his *Chronicle* Hippolytus reckons in two ways [23] that from Adam to the 13th year of the reign of Alexander Severus is a period of 5738 years. In doing so he does not date the intervening events in terms of their years from Adam, but, in proceeding from one event to the next, gives the interval of time between them [24];

[23] See page 5 above.

[24] This is true also of his reckoning by Olympiads (ed. Bauer, p. 208).

and this procedure is followed after as before the birth of Christ. More significant is the fact that the *Canon* is arranged so as to serve as a ready reckoner of the dates of passover not from the birth of Christ but from the first year of the reign of Alexander Severus. In neither of these works is there any evidence of an interest, on the part of Hippolytus, in the date of Christ's birth as the epoch of a new era.

There are two ways in which it might be maintained with a show of reason that Hippolytus put our Lord's birth in the year which Dionysius later made the first of his era.

(1) In his *Commentary on Daniel* he puts the Lord's birth in the 42nd year of the reign of Augustus. If then he reckoned the years of that reign from the battle of Philippi (42 B.C.) [25], he must have put the birth in the interval autumn 1 B.C. –autumn A.D. 1.

There appears, however, to be no evidence of any large use of this era, and it is much more likely that the reckoning is from B.C. 43, the year in which Octavian was declared consul by senate and people and recognized as the adopted son and heir of Caesar [26]. Hippolytus reckoned 30 years from the Lord's birth to his passion and 206 years from his passion to the 13th year of the reign of Alexander Severus (234–235), and that points to 2 B.C. as the year of the birth. Epiphanius, *Haeres.* LI. 24, 1 (ed. Holl, p. 293) puts the Lord's birth in the forty-second year of Augustus when Octavius Augustus xiii and Silanus were consuls; and they were consuls in 2 B.C. The Lord's birth is put in the same consulate in the Latin translation of the *Chronicle* of Hippolytus known as the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* or *Excerpta Latina Barbari* [27], in the *Consularia Rauennatia* [28], and in the *Descriptio Consulum* [29] of Idatius, bishop of Aquae Flaviae.

(2) In his *Commentary on Daniel* Hippolytus put the Lord's birth in 5500 a.m. and in the 42nd year of the reign of Augustus.

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[25] Girard, *Le cadre chronologique du ministère de Jésus*, p. 50 assumes that he did so.

[26] Cf. Usener, *Das Weihnachtsfest*, p. 375.

[27] *Eusebi Chronicorum, Liber Prior*, ed. Schoene, 228.

[28] Frick, *Chronica minora*, I. p. 377.

[29] Migne, *P.L.* li, 900.

But, so it might be maintained, since later he put it in 5502 a.m., he must then have put it in the 44th year of that reign; and if by its 42nd year he meant what we call 2 B.C., he must by its 44th year have meant what we call A.D. 1.

Now it may be, as has already been noted, that Hippolytus himself concluded that the Lord was born in the 42nd year of the reign of Augustus or that he reached this conclusion largely with help that he derived from the *Stromateis* of Clement of Alexandria. But in either case he undoubtedly accepted this date because it rested in part upon explicit, incontrovertible statements of Scripture and for the rest upon the well-known, indisputable fact that Augustus had reigned for 57 years. Moreover it is inconceivable that he ever abandoned it. The statements of Scripture stood for all time, and in his *Chronicle* (ed. Bauer, p. 226) he still assigns to Augustus a reign of 57 years. Accordingly we must conclude not that, when he composed his *Chronicle* and *Canon*, he brought the year of the Lord's birth down by two years, but that he then carried the creation of the world back by that length of time, or —and this is much more likely —that taking his original conclusion to be merely that Christ's birth had taken place *c.* 5500 a.m., he considered that he did no violence to that when later he put it in 5502 a.m. Moreover, if he put the Lord's birth in A.D. 1, he must have put his passion in A.D. 31, and the first year of the reign of Alexander Severus must have been for him A.D. 224 (= 31 + 206 − 13), whereas in fact it was A.D. 222.

To claim that Hippolytus introduced the Dionysian era is thus to attribute to him an interest in the date of our Lord's birth of a kind which he nowhere discloses to us in his writings; it is also to assume that he abandoned a date for it (2 B.C.) which must have seemed to him to rest on sure foundations and which had in fact a considerable acceptance among early authorities.

As made in recent years, this claim appears to be based largely on an article "Po povodu daty armyanskago perevoda 'Tserkovnoï Istorii' Sokrata Skholastika" by R. P. Blake in *Khristianskiï Vostok* VI. 2 (1918), 175–188. In it Blake's main purpose is to restore a measure of confidence in the date of the Armenian translation of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates Scholasticus given by the translator himself: 'In the year six thousand two

hundred and four of this present transient world according to the era of St Sophia, the most ancient church of Constantinople, the world's capital, in the seven hundred and fourth year from the coming of Christ, in the one hundred and forty-fourth year (of the Armenian era), in the ninth year of the indiction, and in the first year of the reign of the autocratic emperor Leo III'. One of the objections that have been made to this is that a dating of events according to an era which had the birth of Christ as its epoch is unthinkable in Armenia and indeed anywhere in the East so early as the seventh century. But, Blake maintains, such an era was already in use there in the sixth century; and in support of this he adduces two passages from the biographical writings of Cyril of Scythopolis. As these conform to a single pattern, only one of them need be given here. It occurs in the *Vita Euthymii* and is as follows[30]: *ἡ δὲ τελείωσις αὐτοῦ γέγονεν κατὰ τὴν εἰκάδα τοῦ Ἰαννουαρίου μηνὸς τῆς ἐνδεκάτης ἰνδικτιόνος ἀπὸ μὲν κτίσεως κόσμου, ἀφ' οὗπερ χρόνος ἤρξατο τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου φορᾷ μετρεῖσθαι, ἔτους πέμπτου ἑξηκοστοῦ ἐνακοσιοστοῦ πεντακισχιλιοστοῦ, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου ἐκ παρθένου ἐνανθρωπήσεως καὶ κατὰ σάρκα γεννήσεως ἔτους πέμπτου ἑξηκοστοῦ τετρακοσιοστοῦ κατὰ τοὺς συγγραφέντας χρόνους ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων Ἱππολύτου τε τοῦ παλαιοῦ καὶ γνωρίμου τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ Ἐπιφανίου τοῦ Κυπριώτου καὶ Ἥρωνος τοῦ φιλοσόφου καὶ ὁμολογητοῦ. ὁ δὲ χρόνος τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐν σαρκὶ ζωῆς οὗτός ἐστιν· ἐξ ἀποκαλύψεως γεννηθεὶς καὶ τριέτης γεγονὼς ἀφιερώθη τῶι θεῶι ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς Θεοδοσίου τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλείας καὶ διελθὼν διὰ πάντων τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν βαθμῶν ἦλθεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τῶι εἰκοστῶι ἑνάτωι ἔτει τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἡλικίας καὶ ποιήσας ἐν τῇ ἐρήμωι ἔτη ἑξήκοντα ὀκτὼ τελευτᾶι ἐτῶν ἐνενήκοντα ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ τῆς πέμπτης Λέοντος τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπατείας τῶι ἑξκαιδεκάτωι ἔτει τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας.* Here in the first sentence the date of the saint's death is given in a series of synchronisms. In the second sentence there follow a few particulars about his life, and then the date of his death is given again in another series of synchronisms. This may occasion the suspicion that the first sentence is the interpolation of a scribe who perhaps sought in this way to display his learning. The fact, which Blake acknowledges, that in the works of Cyril of Scythopolis and later Palestinian writers events are not

[30] We quote the passage in full after Schwartz, p. 59 f.

infrequently dated without reference to a world era or to an era commencing with our Lord's birth tends to confirm this suspicion. Blake, however, does not entertain it. Instead he thinks it likely that Cyril extracted this sentence from a source.

This suggestion is not entirely new. In *Das Weihnachtsfest* (the first part of his *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*), 2nd ed. (1911), p. 372 f., H. Usener refers to the same two passages in the works of Cyril and writes, 'Evidently only Hero, the last of the three authorities named, was looked into by Cyril; he must have composed a chronological handbook in which he appealed to Hippolytus and Epiphanius as authorities for his statement regarding the birth of Christ'. More recently E. Schwartz, *Kyrillos von Skythopolis* (*Texte u. Untersuchungen* XLIX, 2, 1939) p. 346 f. has made a suggestion of the same kind. From the scanty data he concludes that the *χρόνοι* which Cyril used was a *Πασχάλιον*, that in it the years from the creation of the world and from the Incarnation were set out, and that it also contained a table in which the indictions from their beginning stood over against these years. It was, he holds, merely for the sake of these tables that Cyril used it. He considers that the book can hardly have been written later than a generation after the death of Epiphanius (404), but points out that such tables could easily be extended.

Whatever may have been the precise nature of the source from which Cyril drew the synchronisms of the first sentence of the passage quoted above, that sentence testifies, on this view of its origin, to the use in the East already before the time of Dionysius Exiguus of a Christian era in the sense of an era which had the birth of Christ as its epoch, a Christian era moreover which, it was claimed, rested upon conclusions derived from a study and comparison of the chronological writings and observations of certain authorities, of whom one was Hippolytus.

This needs, however, to be guarded against misunderstanding. It means not that the Christian era to an early use of which the passage, on this view of it, testifies was introduced by Hippolytus, but that it was introduced by a person who, in fixing it, made some use of one or more of the writings of Hippolytus. Further, it means that, in fixing it, this person did not confine himself to Hippolytus, but took into consideration, and to some extent

allowed himself to be guided by, what he found in certain other writings. From the words *κατὰ τοὺς συγγραφέντας χρόνους ... ὁμολογητοῦ*, taken by themselves, it cannot be inferred with any certainty either that this era was found ready to hand in Hippolytus and that Epiphanius and Hero are named merely as additional authorities for it or that all the material used in its fixation was derived from Hippolytus. Blake notes that in recent works on chronology, even in the fullest of them, it is assumed that Dionysius Exiguus was the founder of the Christian era, and that in them there is no reference to an earlier, Eastern dating of events from the birth of Christ. But it is incorrect to say that in his article he 'argues that Hippolytus introduced this system (that of dating events from the birth of Christ) long before Dionysius' [31]. What he seeks to show is that this system goes back beyond Cyril of Scythopolis; he suggests that Cyril may have found it in Annianus [32]; but he does not carry it any further back and indeed had no need to do so.

According to the concluding sentence of the passage now before us Euthymius died in the fifth consulate of the emperor Leo, in the sixteenth year of his reign, i.e. in A.D. 473. In the first synchronism of its first sentence his death is put in the eleventh year of an indiction, which answers to A.D. 473; in the second synchronism it is put in 5965 a.m., i.e. A.D. 473 according to the Alexandrine world era in which 5492 years were counted from creation to the beginning of our present time reckoning; in the third it is put not in the year 473 but in the year 465 (= 5965 −5500) from the birth of Christ.

It is not clear whether the words *κατὰ τοὺς συγγραφέντας χρόνους ... ὁμολογητοῦ* refer to all the three foregoing synchronisms or only to the last of them. But the first indiction began, so it is commonly supposed, in September A.D. 312, and in ecclesiastical writers the practice of giving the year of the indiction in dating

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[31] Quotation is from review of D. Lazzarato, *Chronologia Christi seu discordantium fontium concordantia ad juris normam* (Naples, 1952) in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 73 (1954), p. 176.

[32] Blake (p. 185) quotes Georgius Syncellus, *Chronographia* 596, 10–597, 15 (ed. Dindorf) and thinks it likely that he and Cyril drew from the same source.

events appears to be not earlier than the time of Athanasius. Hippolytus was then not an authority in reference to the indiction and could not rightfully be cited as such. In his world era A.D. 473 was either 5974 or 5976 according as he equated the 42nd year of the reign of Augustus (2 B.C.) to 5500 a.m. or to 5502 a.m., and consequently he cannot rightfully be named as an authority for 5965 a.m. Only of the last of these synchronisms, in which it is assumed that the birth of Christ took place in 5500 a.m., can it be rightfully said that here the influence of Hippolytus can be seen. It may assuredly be allowed that someone in the East, interested in chronological matters and impressed by the statement, with allegorical proof from Scripture, made in the *Commentary on Daniel* by Hippolytus that Christ was born in 5500 a.m., may have derived from it the idea of a dating of events from the birth of Christ. But, taken as it stands, the Christian era used in this passage and in the corresponding passage of the *Vita Sabae* (ed. Schwartz, p. 183 f.) cannot have been introduced by Hippolytus himself, and it is not the Christian era that would have been introduced by a person who made the genuine writings of Hippolytus his one and only authority. That it was based in part upon writings other than his, is undoubtedly true. Moreover this Christian era is not the Dionysian era. Dionysius may have adopted it and, in doing so, may have delivered it from the influence of Hippolytus by carrying back the Lord's birth from the end of 5500 a.m. to the end of 5492 a.m. and so making not 5501 a.m. but 5493 a.m. the first year of the era. But since the chronologer Panodorus, who lived in the early years of the fifth century, reckoned 5904 years from Adam to the death of bishop Theophilus of Alexandria (A.D. 412), the year 5493 in his world era answers to the first in the Dionysian era, and questions of dependence are involved here which are not our present concern.

Anstruther (Scotland), The Manse of Anstruther Easter.

LES HEXAPLES ET SAINT IRENEE

PAR

BERTRAND HEMMERDINGER

Sur la genèse des *Hexaples*, Eusèbe, dans son *Histoire Ecclésiastique* (VI, 16–17) nous donne des renseignements très précis: d'après lui, les *Hexaples* sont l'oeuvre d'Origène. Ces renseignements très précis sont-ils exacts? Pour en juger, nous supposerons provisoirement que nous ne disposons pas des données que nous fournit Eusèbe, et nous chercherons à tirer parti des indices que l'on peut tirer des citations scripturaires de saint Irénée.

L'examen des citations scripturaires d'Irénée m'a amené à faire l'hypothèse suivante. Dans sa bibliothèque lyonnaise, Irénée dispose, pour l'A. T., de deux livres: le premier, petit et maniable, est un florilège scripturaire [1]; le second, grand et encombrant, des *Hexaples*. Du point de vue critique, le florilège est déficient, alors que les *Hexaples* présentent toutes les garanties. Irénée les utilise tour à tour, ce qui explique une alternance singulière d'erreurs grossières et de notes d'une haute érudition. Sans cette hypothèse, le caractère hétéroclite des citations scripturaires d'Irénée serait inexplicable.

L'usage du florilège scripturaire entraîne des erreurs d'attribution: Nombres, 24, 17 est attribué à Isaïe par Irénée (*Aduersus haereses*, III, 9, 3) et Justin (*Première apologie*, 32), alors qu'il conviendrait de parler de Balaam ou de Moïse. De même, en IV, 7, 1, Irénée attribue le *Magnificat* (Luc, 1, 46) à Elisabeth, alors que c'est de Marie qu'il s'agit.

Quant aux *Hexaples* utilisés par Irénée, et qui sont irrémédiablement perdus, le seul moyen de nous en faire une idée précise est de confronter les indices que l'on peut tirer des oeuvres d'Irénée avec nos *Hexaples*. Nos *Hexaples* sont constitués par six colonnes parallèles, qui se présentent dans l'ordre suivant: l'hébreu, l'hébreu

[1] Ce premier point n'est pas nouveau: cf. P. Prigent, *Les testimonia dans le christianisme primitif (L'épître de Barnabé . . .)*, Paris, 1961, et mes *Remarques sur l'ecdotique de saint Irénée* (TU 78, 1961, p. 70).

translittéré en lettres grecques, Aquila, Symmaque, la Septante, Théodotion.

Il est probable que, dans les *Hexaples* irénéens, les deux premières colonnes étaient les mêmes que dans les nôtres: au chapitre 43 de la *Démonstration*, la traduction arménienne, qui est notre seul témoin, cite Genèse 1,1 en donnant la translittération de l'hébreu en lettres arméniennes: BARESIT' BARA ELOVIM BASAN BENOWAM SAMENT'ARES.

J'ignore l'ordre des autres colonnes, en dehors du fait que, contrairement à ce qui se passe dans nos *Hexaples*, Théodotion devait précéder Aquila: dans l'*Aduersus haereses* (III, 21, 1), Irénée mentionne Théodotion avant Aquila. Théodotion n'est pas seulement un nom pour Irénée, car, en IV, 5, 2, il cite le verset 25 de Bel, verset qui se trouve dans la version de Théodotion mais est absent de la Septante.

Les *Hexaples* irénéens n'avaient pas Symmaque: autrement, Irénée l'aurait certainement mentionné en III, 21, 1 avec Théodotion et Aquila.

En revanche, les *Hexaples* irénéens présentaient une version qui est absente des nôtres: dans l'*Aduersus haereses*, IV, 33, 11 et dans la *Démonstration*, 40 et 54, Irénée cite Isaïe, 9, 6, dans une version qui est également citée par Eusèbe (*GCS* 23, 324). Cela n'empêche pas Irénée de citer le même texte d'après la Septante (*Aduersus haereses*, III, 16, 3; *Démonstration*, 56, dernière phrase).

Si l'on considère qu'Irénée est antérieur à Origène, ces faits sont troublants et jettent la suspicion sur le récit d'Eusèbe. Malheureusement, ils ne nous permettent de déterminer avec précision ni le rapport des *Hexaples* irénéens avec les nôtres, ni le rôle exact d'Origène.

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VERBRICHT AUGUSTIN DAS SCHWEIGEN DES KLASSISCHEN ALTERTUMS UM PS.–LONGINUS?

VON

L. J. VAN DER LOF

In einem Aufsatz in dieser Zeitschrift schildert Chr. Mohrmann die Position, die Augustin hinsichtlich der Frage des christlichen Stil einnimt [1]. Ihre Ausführungen lassen sich folgendermassen zusammenfassen: Nach dem Schwanken während der ersten Jahrhunderte empfiehlt der Kirchenvater einen Stil, der sich auf die Bibel und auf die grossen christlichen Autoren gründet. Er erkennt also die Existenz einer christlichen Literatur an, die als Norm für die christlichen Schriftsteller gelten kann. Neben grossen profanen Exempeln, die man in der Schule lernt, soll sich der Christ nunmehr auch von seinen christlichen Vorgängern inspirieren lassen. – Auffallend dabei ist, dass Augustins Gedanken mit denen des Verfassers des Traktats „Über das Erhabene" übereinstimmen. Bei beiden handelt es sich um eine Entwicklung angeborener Fähigkeiten durch die Lektüre grosser Meister und durch den Versuch in ihren Geist einzudringen [2]. Augustin formuliert auf persönliche Weise die Gedanken des Ps.–Longinus, indem er sie den besonderen Verhältnissen der Christen anpasst. *Περὶ ὕψους* empfiehlt die Lektüre grosser griechischer Klassiker, Augustin die Lektüre der hl. Schrift und der grossen christlichen Schriftsteller [3].

In diesem Zusammenhang wirft die Verf. nun die folgende Frage auf: hat Augustin Ps.–Longinus gelesen oder hat er von seiner Theorie auf indirektem Wege Kenntnis genommen? Sie fügt hinzu, dass die Sache geheimnisvoll bleibt durch das lange Schweigen, das im Altertum um *Περὶ ὕψους* herrscht, und dass bestimmt keine Verbalidentität, wohl aber eine Gedankenidentität vorliegt [4].

Die Vermutung, dass in der Spätantike noch eine Spur von

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[1] *Problèmes stylistiques dans la littérature latine Chrétienne*, Vig. Christ. 9 (1955), S. 222–246, bes. 237–241.

[2] S. 239 f.

[3] S. 240.

[4] S. 240.

Ps.–Longinus zu finden sein dürfte, ist so fesselnd, dass es sich lohnt, sie genauer zu prüfen. Soweit festgestellt werden konnte, ist der Traktat im Altertum nie zitiert worden. Sollte in der Tat eine grosse Übereinstimmung zwischen Augustin und dem enigmatischen Verfasser sich nachweisen lassen, dann wäre zwar nicht ein Zitat, wohl aber eine Spur von Ps.–Longinus im klassischen Altertum gefunden worden.

Die Argumente von Chr. Mohrmann für die Gedankenübereinstimmung lassen sich folgendermassen zusammenfassen. Augustin kennt den Nutzen der Redekunst um für die Wahrheit zu kämpfen (*Doctr. Christ.* 4, 2, 3). Nun gibt es eine Beredsamkeit, die sich nicht um die Vorschriften der Rhetorik kümmert, sie jedoch instinktiv anwendet – nicht damit man beredt sei, sondern weil man es ist (*ibid.* 4, 3, 4). Diese natürliche Beredsamkeit lernt man, indem man grosse Redner nachahmt in derselben Weise wie kleine Kinder sprechen lernen (*ibid.* 4, 3, 5). Das Vorbild grosser Schriftsteller und Redner ist wirkungsvoller als die Vorschriften der Rhetoren (*ibid.* 4, 5, 8). Die Christen können sich von der Schrift und den grossen christlichen Schriftstellern inspirieren lassen. *Quoniam si acutum et fervens adsit ingenium, facilius adhaeret eloquentia legentibus et audientibus eloquentes, quam eloquentiae praecepta sectantibus. Nec desunt ecclesiasticae litterae, etiam praeter canonem in auctoritatis arce salubriter collocatum, quas legendo homo capax, etsi id non agat, sed tantummodo rebus quae ibi dicuntur, intentus sit, etiam eloquio quo dicuntur, dum in his versatur, imbuitur, accedente vel maxime exercitatione sive scribendi, sive dictandi, postremo etiam dicendi, quae secundum pietatis ac fidei regulam sentit* (*ibid.* 4, 3, 4). Augustin empfiehlt also anstatt des Studiums der Rhetorik eine Entwicklung der natürlichen Gaben durch die Lektüre grosser Vorbildern und durch ihre Nachahmung. – Auch Ps.–Longinus will überall der Natur nachhelfen; die Vervollkommnung ergibt sich nach ihm aus einer Verknüpfung von *φύσις* und *τέχνη*. *Προσήκει δ'ὅμως (ἀνακάμπτει γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡμῖν τοῦ ὑπομνήματος ἡ παραίνεσις), ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὲν ἀδιάπτωτον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τέχνης ἐστὶ κατόρθωμα, τὸ δ'ἐν ὑπεροχῇ . . . μεγαλοφυίας, βοήθημα τῇ φύσει πάντη πορίζεσθαι τὴν τέχνην· ἡ γὰρ ἀλληλουχία τούτων ἴσως γένοιτ'ἂν τὸ τέλειον* (36, 4). *Τέχνη* ist für Ps.–Longinus Studium und Nachahmung grosser

Autoren, wie er deutlich sagt (13, 2). Literarischer Geschmack ist nur durch langjährige Vertrautheit mit grossen Schriftstellern zu erwerben (6, 1). Auch Ps.–Longinus strebt einen pneumatischen Stil an (8, 4). — Ausser den genannten Übereinstimmungen mit Augustin fällt noch besonders auf, dass er unter den grossen nachahmenswerten Vorbildern einmal die Bibel anführt. Nachdem er gezeigt hat, wie Homer die Göttlichkeit, wie sie ist, mit Reinheit und Grösse darstellt, fährt er fort: *Ταύτῃ καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων θεσμοθέτης, οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν ἀνήρ, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τοῦ θείου δύναμιν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐχώρησε, κἀξέφηνεν εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ γράψας τῶν νόμων· «Εἶπεν ὁ θεός» φησί· τί; «Γενέσθω φῶς, καὶ ἐγενετο· γενέσθω γῆ, καὶ ἐγένετο»* (9, 9). Lange vor Augustin sah er die Grösse des biblischen Stils.

Soweit das Beweismaterial für die Übereinstimmung, wie es von Chr. Mohrmann gesammelt wurde.

Zunächst müssen wir auf zwei Ungenauigkeiten in diesen Ausführungen aufmerksam machen:

a) Wir glauben, dass das oben über die Inspiration durch die Schrift aus *Doctr. Christ.* 4, 3, 4 Zitierte mit Unrecht angeführt worden ist. Es wird gesagt, dass die Schrift Autorität ausstrahlt — übrigens eben nicht in Sachen der Beredsamkeit, wie Chr. Mohrmann uns eingeben möchte. *In auctoritatis arce salubriter collocatum* besagt, dass die Autorität der Schrift sich auf heilbringende Gnade gründet. Das ergibt sich aus dem Zusammenhang, denn Augustin lässt darauf folgen, dass die Schrift Weisheit gibt im Reden, was nicht am vielen Lesen des Textes, sondern am Verstehen des wahren Sinns des Buches der Bücher liegt. Hier ist von literarischer Autorität also noch nicht die Rede. *Sapienter autem dicit homo tanto magis vel minus, quanto in scripturis sanctis magis minusve proficit. Non dico in eis multum legendis memoriaeque mandandis sed bene intellegendis et diligenter earum sensibus indagandis, sunt enim qui eas legunt, et neglegunt; legunt ut teneant, neglegunt ne intellegant* (*ibid.* 4, 5, 7) [5]. — Wer nicht beredt ist, aber weise sein will, soll sich die Schrift wörtlich erinnern, erst dann wird er, kraft seiner ausschlaggebenden Beweise, ungeacht des Mangels an Bered-

[5] Wir zitieren die Schrift *De doctrina christiana* nach der Ausgabe von Schwester Thérèse Sullivan, Washington 1930.

samkeit, Autorität erlangen. *Huic ergo qui sapienter debet dicere, etiam quod non potest eloquenter, verba scripturarum tenere maxime necessarium est. Quanto enim se pauperiorem cernit in suis, tanto eum oportet in istis esse ditiorem, ut quod dixerit suis verbis, probet ex illis, et qui propriis verbis minor erat, magnorum testimonio quodammodo crescat. Probando enim delectat qui minus potest delectare dicendo* (*ibid.* 4, 5, 8). Noch immer ist von literarischer Autorität nicht die Rede.

Erst in 4, 6, 9 tritt die Schriftautorität auch in der Beredsamkeit in Kraft: *Hic aliquis forsitan quaerit utrum auctores nostri, quorum scripta divinitus inspirata canonem nobis saluberrima auctoritate fecerunt, sapientes tantummodo, an eloquentes etiam nuncupandi sint. Quae quidem quaestio apud meipsum et apud eos qui mecum quod dico sentiunt, facillime solvitur. Nam ubi eos intellego, non solum nihil eis sapientius, verum etiam nihil eloquentius mihi videri potest.*

Diese formale Angelegenheit ist für das Verständnis von Augustins Beurteilung der Schriftautorität nicht ohne Bedeutung.

b) Eine zweite Ungenauigkeit findet sich u.E. in der Interpretation der oben zitierten Stelle *π.ὑ.* 36, 4. Dort steht nämlich nicht, dass sich die Vervollkommnung aus einer Verknüpfung von *φύσις* und *τέχνη* ergibt, sondern vielmehr, dass dieses *ἴσως γένοιτ' ἄν*, d.h.: „vielleicht das Ergebnis sein könnte". Unserer Ansicht nach meint Ps.–Longinus, dass dieses Ergebnis erreicht wird, wenn die *φύσις* auch geniale Seelengrösse kennt; wenn nicht, so bleibt das Ergebnis unter der Vollkommenheit. Ps.–Longinus sagt doch: „Abwesenheit von Fehlern ist meistens ein Produkt der Kunst, aber Erhabenheit ist eine Gabe der Seelengrösse. Deshalb möge ein jeder die Kunst als Hilfsmittel bei natürlicher Veranlagung verwerten. Der Geniale kann dann manchmal das Vollkommene erreichen". Dies ist wichtig um das Kennzeichnende des Inhalts von *Περὶ ὕψους* zu verstehen.

Betrachten wir jetzt das Beweismaterial etwas näher.

A) *Φύσις, τέχνη* und *ὕψος*

Im Streit zwischen denjenigen, die glauben, sich zum Erlangen eines guten Stils auf die *φύσις* stützen zu müssen, und denjenigen, die von der *τέχνη* alles erwarten, nimmt Ps.–Longinus eine ver-

mittelnde Stellung ein[6]. Denjenigen gegenüber, die glauben, dass die Natur durch Regeln geschwächt wird, ist er der Meinung, dass sie vielmehr die *μέθοδος* als Komplement braucht. Die Natur ist dann die Grundlage, aber das andere Prinzip kann Grenzen bestimmen, sichere Regeln angeben usw.: *καὶ ὅτι αὕτη μὲν πρῶτόν τι καὶ ἀρχέτυπον γενέσεως στοιχεῖον ἐπὶ πάντων ὑφέστηκεν, τὰς δὲ ποσότητας καὶ τὸν ἐφ' ἑκάστου καιρόν, ἔτι δὲ τὴν ἀπλανεστάτην ἄσκησίν τε καὶ χρῆσιν, ἱκανὴ παρορίσαι καὶ συνενεγκεῖν ἡ μέθοδος* (2, 2)[7].

Am Anfang des 8. Kapitels führt der Autor die fünf Quellen des erhabenen Stils auf: Seelengrösse, heftige und begeisterte Gemütsbewegung, die Figuren, den auserlesenen Ausdruck, die Komposition oder Gruppierung von Worten. Die ersten zwei gehören zu den natürlichen Gaben, die letzten drei zum „System", zur *τέχνη*.

Der Weg zum erhabenen Stil führt somit sowohl über *φύσις* als über *τέχνη:* nicht nur die letztere wird durch grosse Vorbilder verbessert, sondern auch die erstere. Wie Ps.–Longinus glaubt, strömen aus grossen Geistern Emanationen, welche die Nachfolger zu göttlicher Verzückung begeistern: *πολλοὶ γὰρ ἀλλοτρίῳ θεοφοροῦνται πνεύματι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὃν καὶ τὴν Πυθίαν λόγος ἔχει, τρίποδι πλησιάζουσαν, ἔνθα ῥῆγμά ἐστι γῆς ἀναπνέον, ὡς φασιν, ἀτμὸν ἔνθεον, αὐτόθεν ἐγκύμονα τῆς δαιμονίου καθισταμένην δυνάμεως, παραυτίκα χρησμῳδεῖν κατ' ἐπίπνοιαν* (13, 2).

Was finden wir nun bei Augustin? Kein Durchdringen des Erhabenen in *φύσις* und *τέχνη*, sondern etwas grundsätzlich Anderes, nl. ein Platz machen für die sakrale Bibelsprache, die man an und für sich nicht nachahmen darf, weil für die Christen eine andere Art Beredsamkeit gilt als für die Schrift. Die Beredsamkeit der Schrift ist für Augustin etwas Einzigartiges und Einmaliges: *Ubi vero non eos intellego* (nämlich die Verfasser des Kanons), *minus quidem mihi apparet eorum eloquentia, sed eam non dubito esse talem, qualis est ubi intellego. Ipsa quoque obscuritas divinorum salubriumque dictorum tali eloquentiae miscenda fuerat, in qua proficere noster intellectus, non solum inventione, verum etiam exercitatione deberet* (*Doctr. Christ.* 4, 6, 9). *Illud magis admiror et stupeo, quod ista nostra eloquentia ita usi sunt per alteram quandam eloquentiam suam, ut*

[6] F. Wehrli, *Der erhabene und der schlichte Stil in der poetisch-rhetorischen Theorie der Antike*, Phyllobolia für Peter von der Mühll (Basel 1945), S. 23.

[7] Wir zitieren nach der Ausgabe von H. Lebègue, Paris 1952.

nec deesset eis, nec emineret in eis, quia eam nec improbari ab illis nec ostentari oportebat (*ibid.* 4, 6, 10). Die sakrale Sprache der Schrift hat eigne Regeln. Von Paulus heisst es: *Sicut ergo apostolum praecepta eloquentiae secutum fuisse non dicimus, ita quod eius sapientiam secuta sit eloquentia, non negamus* (*ibid.* 4, 7, 11).

Der Christ darf die dunkle Bibelsprache nicht nachahmen, denn Klarheit ist ein Haupterfordernis aller Beredsamkeit: *Sed nos etsi de litteris eorum, quae sine difficultate intelleguntur nonnulla sumimus elocutionis exempla, nequaquam tamen putare debemus imitandos nobis eos esse in iis quae ad exercendas et elimandas quodammodo mentes legentium, et ad rumpenda fastidia atque acuenda studia discere volentium, celandos quoque, sive ut ad pietatem convertantur, sive ut a mysteriis secludantur, animos impiorum, utili ac salubri obscuritate dixerunt* (*ibid.* 4, 8, 22) [8].

Die Erklärer der Schrift sollen vor allem nach Klarheit streben: *Non ergo expositores eorum ita loqui debent, tamquam se ipsi exponendos simili auctoritate proponant; sed in omnibus sermonibus suis primitus ac maxime ut intellegantur elaborent, ea quantum possunt perspicuitate dicendi* (*ibid.* 4, 8, 22).

Hier gibt es keine „Sprachmystik" wie bei Ps.–Longinus. Wohl erkennt er die Verbesserung der τέχνη durch das Studium grosser Vorbilder an, aber von der φύσις ist nur *si acutum et fervens adsit ingenium* übrig geblieben. *Acutus* ist für den Kirchenvater auch Tertullian, der Ketzer (*De Gen. ad litt.* 10, 25, 41), obwohl er ihn bei den wichtigen christlichen Schriftstellern nicht erwähnt (*Doctr. Christ.* 2, 40, 61) [9]. Das *acutum ingenium* ist aber mit der Seelengrösse als Quelle des Erhabenen bei Ps.–Longinus nicht zu vergleichen.

Wenn somit das *acutum ingenium* bei Augustin kaum eine Rolle spielt, finden wir dagegen den Begriff der Inbrunst (*fervens ingenium*) bei ihm öfters. Die Bibel kann in Glut setzen, wenn sie inbrünstig gelesen wird: *Sed bonum auditorem, non tam si diligenter discutiatur,*

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[8] Nebenbei machen wir darauf aufmerksam, dass Schwester Sullivan den Gegensatz: *mentes legentium–animos impiorum* etwas schwach übersetzt mit „the minds of their readers–the minds of the wicked" (S. 89). Besser wäre „the souls of the wicked".

[9] Chr. Mohrmann, *Saint Jérôme et saint Augustin sur Tertullien*, Vig. Christ. 5 (1951), S. 112.

instruit, quam si ardenter pronuntietur, accendit (*Doctr. Christ.* 4, 7, 21). — Schwester Thérèse Sullivan übersetzt zu schwach mit „if it be read with feeling" (S. 87). Gerade im erhabenen Stil werden die Worte durch Inbrunst des Herzen gewählt: *Satis enim est ei propter quod agitur, ut verba congruentia non oris eligantur industria, sed pectoris sequantur amorem* (*ibid.* 4, 20, 42).

Wenn wir das Ganze überblicken, müssen wir den Schluss ziehen, dass die Struktur der Gedanken Augustins über φύσις, τέχνη und ὕψος keine Spuren von der Theorie des Ps.–Longinus aufweist. Sein Anerkennen der Bedeutung der Inbrunst wurzelt in einer völlig anderen Gedankenfolge.

B) Der erhabene Stil

Man wäre vielleicht geneigt, wenn man an die üblichen *genera dicendi* denkt, ὕψος mit dem erhabenen Stiltypus zu identifizieren. Die Unterscheidung der Stiltypen beruht jedoch auf dem allgemeinen Ton eines *ganzen* Werkes, während Erhabenheit bei Ps.–Longinus in einem einzigen Augenblick hervortritt und dann alles „wie ein Blitzstrahl zersprengt" (1, 4) [9a]. Bei ihm ist der erhabene Stil eine Seelenstimmung in der die Seele ihrem Wesen entspricht. Für ihn sind καλὰ (= ὑψηλὰ) ὀνόματα und φῶς τῷ ὄντι ἴδιον τοῦ νοῦ gleich (30, 1). Der erhabene Stil ist hier nicht ein Stil neben andern, sondern der Stil ohne weiteres. An diesem Stil wird sowohl die politische Leidenschaft des Demosthenes als auch eine platonische Offenbarung gewürdigt [10].

Bei Augustin sind nun aber drei Stilarten vorhanden: *submissum ad docendum, temperatum ad delectandum* und *grande ad flectendum*; der erhabene Stil befindet sich also neben zwei andern [11]. Die drei Stilarten sollen abwechselnd benutzt werden: *Nec quisquam praeter disciplinam esse existimet ista miscere; immo quantum congrue fieri potest, omnibus generibus dictio varianda est. Nam quando prolixa est in uno genere, minus detinet auditorem* (*Doctr. Christ.* 4, 22, 51). Die erste Art kann man sogar länger ertragen als

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[9a] J. Ph. Hoogland, *Longinus „Over het verhevene"*, Groningen 1936, S. 13.

[10] O. Immisch, *Bemerkungen zur Schrift vom Erhabenen*, Sitzungsber. d. Heidelberg. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.–hist. Kl., 1924/5, 2. Abh., S. 24.

[11] Th. Sullivan, S. 7.

den erhabenen Stil allein: *Verumtamen facilius submissum solum, quam solum grande diutius tolerari potest* (*ibid.* 4, 22, 51).

Auch in diesem Punkte meint Ps.–Longinus somit etwas anderes als Augustin.

C) Das Genesiszitat

Hat das Genesiszitat bei Ps.–Longinus (9, 9) die Bedeutung, dass der Autor dem Stil der Bibel grossen Wert beimisst, ja, dass er ihn sogar als Vorbild aufstellt?

Die Antwort muss sein, dass es nicht überraschend ist, dass hier ein Zitat aus der Bibel zu finden ist. Die Schrift des Ps.–Longinus zeigt gelegentlich eine enge Verwandtschaft mit der jüdischen Gedankenwelt [12]; man hat manchmal angenommen, dass er von jüdischer Herkunft gewesen ist, wenn auch sehr stark hellenisiert [13]. Dass der ungenannte Philosoph bei ihm Philo ist, ist sehr wahrscheinlich [14].

Nach Hoogland macht die Genesisstelle dadurch, dass sie frei zitiert wird, den Eindruck, dass Ps.–Longinus sie nicht aus eigener Lektüre der heiligen Bücher der Juden gekannt, sondern von einem andern gehört oder bei ihm gelesen hat [15]. Lebègue macht in diesem Zusammenhang auf Strabo aufmerksam [16], der am Anfang des 36. Kapitels des 16. Buchs seiner *Geographica* seine Bewunderung für die von Moses vollbrachte Arbeit und für die von ihm gegründete Theokratie äussert in einem Satz, der der Beurteilung des Moses durch Ps.–Longinus auffällig ähnlich ist: *Οὗτος μὲν οὖν εὐδοκιμήσας τούτοις συνεστήσατο ἀρχὴν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν.*

Übrigens beabsichtigt das Bibelzitat nicht, ein Beispiel zu geben, das Homer sogar noch übertrifft; wie sich aus dem einleitenden *ταύτῃ καί* ergibt, steht Gen. 1, 1 für Ps.–Longinus mit Homer auf gleicher Linie. Nach Augustins Meinung dagegen ist der Stil der Bibel etwas völlig Einmaliges.

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[12] E. Norden, *Das Genesiszitat in der Schrift vom Erhabenen*, Abh. d. Deutsch. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin, Kl. f. Spr., Lit. u. K. 1954/1).

[13] G. J. de Vries, *Notes on Longinus Περὶ ὕψους*, Mnemosyne IV, 12 (1959), S. 62.

[14] M. J. Boyd, *Longinus, the „Philological Discourses" and the Essay „On the Sublime"*, Class. Quart. n.s. 7 (1957), S. 42.

[15] *O.c.*, S. 17.

[16] S. VIII.

D) Nachahmung grosser Vorbilder

Denniston macht darauf aufmerksam, wie die *μίμησις* den griechischen Autoren im Blut liegt: fast jeder Verfasser einer Schrift über Rhetorik empfiehlt nicht nur seinen Schülern die Dichter zu studieren und gruppiert nicht nur Dichter und Prosaschriftsteller zusammen in der Klassifikation von Stilarten, sondern sucht sich aus Homer und den Tragikern rhetorische Stilblüten, damit der Student diese nachahmen kann [17]. Werner Jaeger verkündet die Meinung, dass jeder antike Humanismus sich am Gedanken, ein Beispiel nachzuahmen, orientiert. Es ist dann nach ihm logisch, dass das Christentum diesen Gedanken übernahm, ihn aber auf Christus bezog [18]. Basilius von Caesarea, Gregor von Nazianz und Gregor von Nyssa beabsichtigten das geistliche Vakuum ihrer Zeit, das auch von den Verteidigern des Hellenismus empfunden wurde, wieder auszufüllen durch die Beseelung der klassischen Formen mit einem lebendigen Inhalt. Durch dieses Bemühen entstand nach Jaegers Beschreibung eine eigene christliche Literatur im Sinne der klassischen Beispiele [19]. Gregor von Nyssa zitiert die Bibel auf eine Weise, die deutlich zeigt, dass er darin die ‚paideia' sieht, welche die profane Literatur im Gebiet der weltlichen Entwicklung hat [20]. „Liegt es denn nicht auf der Hand", so fragen wir uns, „dass sich in der lateinischen Literatur eine ähnliche Bewegung vollzog, in der *mutatis mutandis* Augustin an der Stelle eines Gregor von Nyssa stand?" Das konnte völlig ohne Ps.–Longinus geschehen, der auch keinen sichtbaren Einfluss auf die Kappadozier ausgeübt hat. Die Nachahmung grosser Vorbilder braucht Augustin also nicht Ps.–Longinus entnommen zu haben.

Aus obenstehenden Ausführungen ziehen wir die Schlussfolgerung, dass kein Grund vorliegt, anzunehmen, dass bei Augustin Spuren von einem Einfluss des Ps.–Longinus zu finden sind.

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[17] J. D. Denniston, *Greek Literary Criticism*, London–Toronto 1924, S. VIII.

[18] W. Jaeger, *Paideia Christi*, Zeitschr. f. Neutestam. Wiss. 50 (1959), S. 12.

[19] Jaeger, a.a.O., S. 9.

[20] Jaeger, a.a.O., S. 10.

Schwester Thérèse Sullivan beweist mit ausführlichen Listen den Einfluss Ciceros auf Augustin. Der Kirchenvater griff zurück auf die *doctrina sana*, die in *De oratore* und dem *Orator* formuliert worden war [21]. *Imitatio* versus *praecepta* finden wir in *De orat.* 1, 33, 150; 2, 23, 96; 2, 22, 90, Beredsamkeit ohne Regeln in *De orat.* 1, 20, 91; 1, 32, 146; vgl. Quint. 2, 17, 9. Das Thema der Klarheit als Ideal für den Schriftsteller in *De orat.* 3, 10, 37–39; 3, 14, 52; *Orat.* 23, 77*ss.*; vgl. Arist. *Rhetor.* 3, 5, 1407b; 3, 2, 1404b; Quint. 8, 2, 1; 8, 2, 22.

Cicero aber greift wieder auf die Griechen zurück [22]. Er beruft sich auf Demokrit und Plato und spricht von *quidam adflatus quasi furoris* und von *inflammatio animorum* [23]. Demokrit erkennt als schönes Gedicht nur ein solches an, das in Entzücken und mit göttlichem Geist geschrieben worden ist (Diels, *Vorsokr.*[5], 68B 18: μετ' ἐνθουσιασμοῦ καὶ ἱεροῦ πνεύματος). Die Forderung der Klarheit geht auf Aristoteles zurück (*Rhetor.* 1404b 1*ss.*). Vom Drama verlangt Aristoteles die Klarheit einer Diktion, die dem Leben nahekommt, da dessen Dialog wirkliche Prosa ist (*Poet.* 1459a 12) [24].

H. I. Marrou ist der Ansicht, dass Augustin viele Ratschläge für seinen Stil aus Cicero entlehnte, betrachtet aber namentlich das Thema der Klarheit und das vom Wert des Beispiels als von Augustin selbst ohne Ciceros Vermittlung erdacht. An einem unmittelbaren Einfluss Ciceros denkt er besonders bei zwei miteinander verbunden vorkommenden Theorien, und zwar der von dem dreifachen Zweck der Beredsamkeit und der von den drei damit übereinstimmenden Stilarten [25]. M. Testard gibt eine Übersicht dieser zwei Theorien aus *Doctr. Christ.* 4, 12, 27; 4, 17, 34 und 4, 18, 35 mit Ciceros Text zum Vergleich (*Orat.* 69 und 100) [26]. Wie Cicero empfiehlt der Kirchenvater die abwechselnde Verwendung dieser drei Stilarten [27]. Wenn Augustin *docere* statt *probare* schreibt, weicht er

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21 S. 8.

22 W. Rhys Roberts, *Greek Rhetoric and Literary Criticism*, London–Calcutta–Sydney 1928, S. 142.

23 Wehrli, *o.c.*, S. 11.

24 Wehrli, *o.c.*, S. 25.

25 H. I. Marrou, *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique*, Paris 1937, S. 520.

26 M. Testard, *Saint Augustin et Cicéron*, Paris 1958, II, S. 28–29.

27 Testard, *o.c.*, I, S. 196.

doch nicht von seinem Lehrer ab, denn auch dieser verwendet dann und wann *docere* statt *probare*, wobei sich *docere* bezieht auf alles, was der Redner für die Intelligenz seines Auditoriums bestimmt [28]. *Probare* bezieht sich, wie aus *De orat.* 2, 115–120 hervorgeht, auf den Beweis einer Sache, den der Verteidiger erbringen will. Der Kirchenvater wählte für den Prediger das andere Wort, denn es weist auf die bescheidene Rolle des Lehrers hin, wobei das wirkliche Verstehen des christlichen Mysteriums im Glauben liegt [29].

Im allgemeinen sah Augustin Cicero als den grossen Lehrer für die Rhetorik, und wenn er den Inhalt eines Zitats abändert, so geschieht das ausschliesslich auf Grund seiner Religion: konnte Cicero zu dem Zweck, das in der Verkündigung der Glaubenswahrheit liegt, ja bloss Beihilfe leisten [30]. Cicero war übrigens Meister und Muster für alle Literaturfreunde des vierten Jahrhunderts [31]; er bildete auch die Grundlage des von Augustin erteilten Unterrichts, als dieser noch Rhetor war [32]. Beide kämpfen sie gegen die epideiktische Eloquenz, allein der christliche Augustin ersetzt Ciceros Forum durch Kirche und Kanzel [33].

Ps.–Longinus geht manchmal auf dieselben Quellen wie Cicero zurück. Für seine bedingte Anerkennung des „technischen" Elements kann er sich auf Demokrit berufen, dessen Glauben an dichterische Begabung ihn nicht davon abhielt, sich auch um Einzelprobleme der Form zu kümmern [34]. Demokrit sprach von *ἱερὸν πνεῦμα*, Ps.–Longinus von *δαιμόνιον πνεῦμα* (33, 5). *Πνεῦμα* ist in der Theorie des erhabenen Stils der beliebte Ausdruck für die Ergriffenheit des Dichters oder Redners (*π.ὑ.* 8, 4; 13, 2; 24, 2; Dion. *Demosth.* 20, 22; *Dinarch.* 7, etc.) [35].

Für Ps.–Longinus bedeutet die rhetorische und poetische Psychagogie das Übertragen der eigenen Ergriffenheit auf den

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28 Testard, *o.c.*, I, S. 268.
29 Testard, *o.c.*, I, S. 269.
30 Testard, *o.c.*, I, S. 190.
31 Marrou, *o.c.*, S. 19.
32 Marrou, *o.c.*, S. 49.
33 Marrou, *o.c.*, S. 526.
44 Wehrli, *o.c.*, S. 23.
35 Wehrli, *o.c.*, S. 12.

Andern als Zweck für sich; erst in zweiter Instanz hat sie es nach ihm mit der politischen Verwaltung zu schaffen, um die es den nach Macht lüsternen Sophistenschülern zu tun ist. Cicero spricht hier wie Ps.–Longinus: *tralationes ... transferunt animos et referunt ac movent huc et illuc; qui motus cogitationis celeriter agitatus per se ipse delectat* (*Orat.* 39, 134) [36].

Auch Quintilian stimmt oft mit Ps.–Longinus überein (ein Stellenverzeichnis findet sich in der Einleitung zur Ausgabe des *Περὶ ὕψους* von Photiades, Athen 1927).

Es ist merkwürdig zu sehen wie die Ähnlichkeit zwischen Dionysios von Halikarnassos und Augustin noch grösser ist als die zwischen Ps.–Longinus und dem Kirchenvater. Dionysios war ein Freund des Caecilius, des Gegners des Ps.–Longinus. Wie Augustin kennt er die Bewunderung für die Leidenschaft [37] und ahmt er grosse Vorbilder nach [38]. Und er überbietet sogar: er will vor allem Klarheit [39], er bewundert eine Kombination von Stilarten [40], Nachahmung der Natur ist ihm der höchste Erfolg der Kunst [41]. Mit allen diesen Bestrebungen kommt er Augustin näher als es Ps.–Longinus getan hatte.

Zusammenfassend dürfen wir sagen, dass unmittelbarer Einfluss von Ps.-Longinus auf Augustin nicht zu beweisen ist, dagegen wohl ein Einfluss Ciceros auf ihn. Da Cicero und Quintilian auf griechische Quellen zurückgreifen, bekommt man manchmal den Eindruck einer unmittelbaren Berührung zwischen Augustin und der Schrift des Ps.–Longinus. Die Gedankenwelt der beiden ist jedoch zu verschieden um einen direkten Einfluss auch nur leicht wahrscheinlich zu machen. Selbst am Ende des klassischen Altertums finden wir somit noch keine Spur von einer Bekanntheit mit der Schrift vom Erhabenen.

Rhys Roberts bemerkt: „The essay on the *Sublime* seems, so

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[36] Wehrli, *o.c.*, S. 15–16.
[37] Rhys Roberts, *o.c.*, S. 78.
[38] Rhys Roberts, *o.c.*, S. 94–97.
[39] Rhys Roberts, *o.c.*, S. 94.
[40] Rhys Roberts, *o.c.*, S. 77.
[41] Rhys Roberts, *o.c.*, S. 76.

far as our evidence goes, to have remained in obscurity from the time at which it was written till the year 1554, when it was printed for the first time, at Basle'' [42]. Daran brauchen wir vorläufig nichts zu ändern.

Hilversum, Vaartweg 95.

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[42] Rhys Roberts, *o.c.*, S. 143.

NOTES ON THE "IOHANNIS" OF CORIPPUS [1]

BY

F. R. D. GOODYEAR

The *Iohannis* is preserved only in one 14th. century MS., the *codex Trivultianus*. The poem was first published in 1820 by P. Mazzucchelli, then in 1836 by I. Bekker (in *Corp. Script. Hist. Byz.*), then in 1879 by I. Partsch (in *Mon. Germ. Hist., Auct. Ant.*, vol. 3), and finally in 1886 by M. Petschenig (in *Berliner Studien*, vol. 4). The only available commentary is that of Mazzucchelli.

Apart from the four editions, the most important contributions to the study of this text known to me are: M. Petschenig, *Studien zu dem Epiker Corippus* (Vienna, 1885), E. Appel, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Corippus* (Munich, 1904), D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Notes on Corippus* (in *Classical Philology*, vol. L, no. 2 (1955)).

1.361–3 tunc pereunt miserae dirupto fune carinae
vi pelagi: duros tabulae iacuere per agros
saepe ratis putresque simul per gramina prorae.

Read *diros* for *duros*, in spite of 365. For such repetitions in this poet cf. 495–7 and passim. The same correction is worth considering at 4.173

perque femur duri transivit arundo tyranni
confringens os pulsa feri

Note *feri* and *atrox* at 161 as some support for *diri*, but Mommsen's *durum* is very plausible (cf. 181 *duris dolor ossibus arsit*).

1.560–3 sic acies fugitiva cadit, sic firma superstes.
nam timidos fortuna premet, cautosque iuvabit
audacesque simul: multos nam saepe revisit,
et quanti ex ipsis palmam sumpsere periclis!

superstes Shackleton Bailey *restet* T.

The sense would be much improved by writing *victos* for *multos*.

1 It is a pleasure to acknowledge my obligation to Dr. D. R. Shackleton Bailey for much helpful criticism and encouragement.

1.576–8 nuntius ante levis nostras deportet ad aures
vectus equo, cautasque facit properare cohortes.
hoc servate, duces: veram sperate salutem.

An abrupt change from subjunctive to indicative (e.g. in indirect questions) is not in itself surprising in Corippus, but I can find no example comparable with this and here the sense seems to require the subjunctive in both clauses. Read perhaps *faciat* for *-que facit* and place a full stop after *equo*. This sort of staccato expression is common enough in Corippus (cf. 2.342sqq.). Another possibility, suggested by Dr Shackleton Bailey, is to read *ciat* for *facit*.

I agree with Petschenig (*Studien*, p. 18) that "*veram* gibt keinen rechten Sinn, ausser man fasst es in der kirchlichen Bedeutung, was hier nicht angeht". He writes *vestram*. I think *certam* more likely.

2.53–4 Silcadenitque ferus, celsis qui invida silvis
bella dolis metuenda parat

vivida Mazzucchelli *qui celsis invia* Shackleton Bailey

I share Dr Shackleton Bailey's dissatisfaction with *vivida*. His own suggestion gives a good sense and may be right, but I should prefer *qui devia*. *devia bella* cannot be paralleled in Corippus, but there is at least the analogy of *per devia* which he uses four times (see Partsch's index) and at 4.602 in a context similar to this.

2.79–81 quos Talalateis nutrix suscepit ab arvis
Tillibaris, iunctasque mari distendit harenas
Marta mali genetrix

So Petschenig. Mazzucchelli reads *Martamali*. If this or e.g. *Martamalis* is a real or likely name, I should much prefer this reading to *Marta mali genetrix* in view of *nutrix — Tillibaris*.

How *iunctasque — genetrix* is connected in sense or syntax with what precedes, namely a list of the rebel forces and their origins, I cannot see. We should perhaps read *iunctasque mari quis tendit harenas*. For the deferment of the relative cf. 76. For *tendit* cf. 4.420 (if *tendit* is right there) and *in laudem Anast.* 9. For *quis* cf. Petschenig's excellent correction of 65.

2.204–8 iamque pedem retrahens ibat Romana iuventus

ductori responsa ferens. hanc proximus hostis
circumdat levitate sua. iam dura subibant
agmina. conveniunt densi de montibus hostes,
faucibus e cunctis campos funduntur in omnes

iam dura subibant agmina is, to say the least, obscure. It could, I suppose, mean that the Roman column was reaching rough, broken or mountainous country. It can hardly mean that the Moors are coming up to the Romans, for some of the Moors are already close at hand (*proximus* – *circumdat*). I suspect that Corippus wrote *plura*. This would go excellently with what follows (211–15). The Romans are increasingly outnumbered.

2.216–9 sic, ubi compellunt currentia nubila venti
murmure cum valido, tot crebribus ignibus ardens
nimbus et adversa veniens in fronte procella
influit

crebris Mazzucchelli *crebrius* Petschenig

tot hardly gives a satisfactory sense. *tum* seems to be required (cf. 257) and I should read *tum crebris*. The corruption to *crebribus* under the influence of *ignibus* is easy and earlier in the line *o* and *u* have certainly been confused, for T reads *con*.

2.357–8 consilium maturum alit mandata superbo
tunc iubet armigerum celerem perferre tyranno

alit et Mazzucchelli *agit et* Petschenig

agitans is also worth considering.

2.381–3 vincere nempe putas quascumque in saecula gentes
Romanas tu posse manus? nos Parthica regna,
nos Lazos, Unnos, Francosque Getasque domamus.

The sense seems to require that we should read *non posse*.

3.36–9 quae movet immerito quatiens Bellona flagello
innumeras gentes? vel quae succedit Erinys
et Phaetonteos commiscens gentibus ignes
omnia sic mergit

To read *succendit* is scarcely a change at all, but it is a clear improvement.

3.87–9 omnigenumque pecus mactat vittata sacerdos,
fata movens: raptis primum quae saevit in extis
inspiciens (series patuit longissima) fibras

ruptis Petschenig

That this alteration is unnecessary and undesirable is shown by Verg., *Aen.* 12.214–5, Sen., *Thy.* 755–7 and in particular Luc. 1.617 *atque iram superum raptis quaesivit in extis. quae saevit* is not appropriate in the present passage, which describes prophetic rather than Dionysiac frenzy. We should certainly follow Partsch in accepting Mazzucchelli's *quaesivit*. R. Amann (*De Corippo priorum poetarum Latinorum imitatore*, Oldenburgi 1885) shows that Lucan is amongst the poets most frequently imitated by Corippus.

3.120–2 omnia mista simul. quid multim crescere Mauris?
en iterum pereunt. quid iuvit tempore parvo
virtute indomita partam meruisse ruinam?

120 *multum* Mazzucchelli *quid vultis — Mauros* Petschenig 121 *iuvit* Mazzucchelli *vivit* T

The whole passage (indeed the whole poem) is full of repetitions, anaphoric and various, and therefore I think that *iuvit — Mauros* in 120 is well worth consideration (cf. *quid iuvat* again at 136).

3.166–7 frustis conciditur altis
omne pecus, verubusque trementes conserit artus.

artis Petschenig

I find both *altis* and *artis* hard to understand. Perhaps *aptis*.

4.91–2 primi sequitur pes mota secundus
crura pedis, ritum capitis sua membra sequuntur.

ritum seems hard to accept, in spite of *ritu regendi* (*Laud.* 4.196). Perhaps *motum* or *nutum*.

4.234–5 hic potuit Libyam Romanis reddere fastis
solus et infestum leto damnare tyrannum.

fatis Petschenig

fatis is not wholly convincing. 6.390 which Petschenig compares (*proxima se iunxit, sed tunc male fida Latinis | Urceliana manus, Romanis addita fatis*) is not a good parallel, for the sense there might be "added to the Roman afflictions". I am not sure that *fastis* is right, but perhaps it may just be defended. The sense might be "return to Roman history" or "return to the Roman annals". For this extended meaning of *fasti* cf. Thes. VI I 328 57sqq.

5.13–4 hosti tamen obvius ivit
congressus vacuis ductor fortissimus armis.

parvis Schenkl *paucis* Petschenig dubitanter

Brave indeed the general who *vacuis armis hosti congreditur*, whatever precisely this phrase may mean. Read *validis* (cf. Ov., *Met.* 6.678).

5.180–2 turbet nunc agmina perdens
militibus quantis aut qua cum plebe Iohannes,
respicite, et tandem vestris succurrite natis.

This appeal to paternal affection is singularly abrupt, since neither the *nati* nor any danger immediately threatening them have so far been mentioned. Bruten has indeed just referred to their fathers and so, I suppose, it is possible that he means that, as their fathers defeated the Romans and left a glorious name for their sons, they should do the same in turn. But it is very hard to elicit this meaning from the words. I should prefer to read *vestris succurrite fatis*. Cf. 3.403 *adversis properans concurrere fatis*. The Moorish rebels seem firmly convinced that fate is on their side (cf. 3.155, 8.251–3).

5.345–8 Germanus comprimit Arzen,
at Salusis Meniden, Mestanque in rupe Iohannes.
Tanala mactat Iten, Vitalis arundine Tizen,
Fisculaque ingentem deiecit vulnere Frecten.

It is strange that Iohannes, having sent Mestan reeling (*ense rotat*) at 285, should now crush him *in rupe*. It may, of course, be another Mestan who is involved. Still I suspect that *-que in* conceals the ending of a different, though similar, name, perhaps *Mestanant* (cf. *Tiluzant* at 8.622) whom Iohannes *comprimit rupe*.

6.246–9 turbant animos impensa locique
difficilesque viae: sterilis nam cernitur annus.
perdidit ipsa suas bellis provincia vires,
heu nimium defessa iacens

247 seems hard to understand. Perhaps we should read *sterilis iam vertitur annus*. The meaning would be "an unproductive year is drawing to its close". This explains why *exercitus ingens | non poterit sufferre famem* (249–50).

6.320 miserere iliis nostrique tuique

filiis T^2 *velis* Mommsen

Mommsen's conjecture is, I think, rightly accepted by Partsch and Petschenig. They punctuate thus: *miserere, velis, nostrique tuique*. It is better to remove the commas. For the infinitive *miserere* see Thes. VIII 1115 61sqq.

6.342–3 vincat amor patriae mentem, et sitis improba cesset
flumine pusapio, ac vester satiabitur ardor.

numine pulsa pio Petschenig

It is odd for *amor patriae* or even *patria* to be called *numen pium*, though not impossible. Again *flumine pulsa pio* might be retained on the analogy of 345–6, but the expression and thought would be very obscure. It is as likely that the true reading is *nomine pulsa pio*, i.e. *patria* or *amor patriae*. *nomine* became *numine* and hence *flumine* under the influence of the context.

6.375 innumeri redeunt. alii sparsere per arva

There is some uncertainty as to the reading of T. According to Partsch and Petschenig, it has become impossible to make out what becomes between *inu* – and *alii*. The above is the reading of Mazzucchelli, who says nothing to suggest that he had any difficulty in reading the line. It contains two difficulties: (1) *redeunt* apparently = *abeunt* – such a usage is not out of the question in Corippus, though the uncertainty of the reading casts additional doubt on it here, (2) though various transitive verbs are used by Corippus in an intransitive sense, it is hard to find any example

comparable with *sparsere = sparsi sunt*. Partsch wrote *se* before *alii*, unconvincingly. It would be better, if change is necessary, to write *sparsi ire*. For the historic infinitive in Corippus see Petschenig's index, which cites *inter alia Laud.* 4.18 *ratibus tunc ire per urbes*. Cf. also 1.104–5 *vidit — pavitantes ire per agros*.

6.651–2 funera per latos contra venientia campos
vulnere fundebant vario.

Read *agmina* for *funera*. Cf. 4.152–3 *fugitiva perurguet | agmina transfodiens*, 159–60 *adversas passim per prata catervas | sternebat Romanus eques*.

7.238–9 omnia per latos convectant horrea campos
armaque multa viris more expendenda Latinis

I can find no example of a use of *expendere* which would make *expendenda* intelligible here. *expedienda* would at least give a sense.

7.370–3 bis quinos Africus ingens
auxerat, ignivagis exurens cuncta procellis:
tot fugiens hostes acies inimica diebus
se procul a fessis posuit terrore Latinis.

quinis Petschenig

Rightly, I think. *arserat* would also be a considerable improvement, for it gives a much better sense.

7.374–6 ductoris iussu hostes explorare tribunus
Caecilides numero pariter comitante feroci
victorum egreditur

vectorum Petschenig

Better *lectorum*, which gives a peculiarly apt sense here. Cf. 1.102 *lectum quem in illas miserat oras*, 4.294 *lectique duces*.

8.352–3 nunc sculptile damnat
omne genus, verumque deum te, magne, fatemur.

Iohannes is addressing the Deity and asking for his assistance. He seems to be pointing out that such assistance is justified, because all the Romans are Christians. *omne genus damnat sculptile* (subst.)

is both dubious Latin and unsuitable in sense. We should perhaps read *damnant – fatentur*. The subject can be understood from the preceding sentence (*dominumque potentem | te solum agnoscant populi, dum conteris hostes | et salvas per bella tuos*).

8.591–6 fulmineo caput ense metens detruncat Alantas
et nigrum Sacoma ferit per prata cadentem.
horruit acer equus etc.

Thus all the editors, giving an absurd sense to 595. It is easy to remove the difficulty by placing a full stop after *ferit* instead of *cadentem*. Cf. 4.178–9 *flexit equum post terga fugax. hunc morte cadentem | suscipiunt socii* etc.

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SOME COPTIC FRAGMENTS FROM THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. PANTOLEON

BY

G. QUISPEL AND J. ZANDEE

Among the Coptic manuscripts, bought January the 7th 1956 at Berlin by Professor Quispel on behalf of the Utrecht University Library from the inheritance of the late Professor Carl Schmidt, are two papyrus fragments containing parts of the martyrdom of St. Pantoleon. These fragments form the lower part of two sheets. Thus there is nothing visible from the pagination. The sheets are written on both sides in two columns. Therefore the remains of 8 columns have been preserved altogether. The last column can be left out of consideration because there is hardly anything readable of this one. Columns 1 and 2 are on the verso of the papyrus sheet, the fibres running perpendicularly. Columns 5 and 6 are on the reverse of the papyrus, the fibres running horizontally. The size of the first fragment is 20,5 → × 19 ↓ cm., the one of the second being 18 × 18 cm. The lower margin is as broad as 5 to 6 lines of text. The dialect is Sahidic. It is difficult to ascertain the age on the basis of paleography. A dating in the 8th century is possible.

Another martyrdom of St. Pantoleon in Coptic has been edited by Francesco Rossi in *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei Anno CCXC*, 1893, *Seria Quinta, Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche, Volume I, Parte* 1*a*, *Memorie (Vol. I, Serie* 5*a*, *parte* 1*a)*, entitled, "*Un nuovo codice copto del Museo Egizio di Torino continente la vita di s. Epifanio ed i martiri di s. Pantoleone, di Ascla, di Apollonio, di Filemone, di Ariano e di Dios con versetti di vari capitoli del "Libro di Giobbe*". The text begins on p. 47. The dialect is also Sahidic. The beginning is lacking. The first page has been numbered θ (=9). The text has been written in one column per page, containing 25 to 27 lines. The Turin text shows some deviations from the Utrecht fragments. The similarity, however, goes so far that both versions must originate from the same basic text. The Utrecht fragments are important because they fill up

some gaps in the Turin text. The state of the Turin papyrus probably was not too good even in Rossi's time because some passages were illegible to him. Among other things it is dubious on account of this fact whether his transcription is always correct. We tried to obtain photographs of the parallel passages of the Turin papyrus on microfilm but this appeared to be impossible on account of the present state of the papyrus. The superintendent of the museum Prof. E. Scamuzzi wrote (letter of 20–9–1958), "*L'inconveniant n'est pas de plus légers, car l'écriture presque effacée est encore moins visible maintenant à cause du fond du papyrus devenu très foncé, et la chose empêche une facile lecture ... Je crois mieux vous aviser dès maintenant que les conditions mentionnées, très difficilement permettront une reproduction photographique vraiment utile et satisfaisante*".

L. Th. Lefort [1] published fragments of the martyrdom of St. Olympios. He had a cult in Tkow in Egypt. Lefort points to the fact that this martyrdom runs parallel to the martyrdom of St. Pantoleon edited by Rossi. Both Olympios and Pantoleon were physicians in Nicomedia. Only the epilogues differ. Pantoleon died in Nicomedia, Olympios was bannished to Egypt where he came under the supervision of Arianus, known from other martyrdoms as a fanatic persecutor and a severe judge. Lefort remarks that it is hardly to ascertain which martyrdom was a copy of the other.

The Coptic text was compared with the following Greek versions: *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg. VIIIe Série, Classe Historico-Philologique, Vol. XII, no* 2, *St.-Pétersbourg* 1914, *V. V. Latyšev, Textes grecs hagiographiques inédits (Hagographica graeca inedita), no IV*, 40–53 *Passio S. Panteleemonis, Cod. Mosquensis bibl.-synod. no* 379, *Vlad., saec. XI, f.* 135-145. *Μηνὶ Ἰουλίῳ κζ'* is mentioned as memorial day. Designation Pet.

Patrologia Cursus Completus Series Graeca, J. P. Migne, Tomus CXV, p. 452 sqq., *Cod. ms. Patris n.* 1475, *saec. XII*, text of Symeon Metaphrastes.

Vatican texts according to *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*,

[1] *Le Muséon-Revue d'études orientales, Louvain*, 1950, *LXIII*, 1, pp. 1–23 *Un martyr inconnu, S. Olympios.*

ediderunt socii Bollandiani, 3*me Ed.*, F. Halkin, *Tome II*, *Bruxelles* 1957, p. 166 sq., *nos.* 1412–1414. *Panteleemon m. Nicomediae sub Maximiano. Iul.* 27. Through the kind agency of Dr. Arn. van Lantschoot, vice-prefect of the Vatican Library we had at our disposal on microfilm the passages in question found in the Greek versions. The manuscripts consulted (designation Vat.) are: Codd. Vatic. 1641, saec. X–XI, fol. 369 v.–375; Cod. Vatic. 1595, saec. XI–XII, fol. 57 v.–64 v.; Cod. Vatic. 1572, saec. XII; Cod. Vatic. 1190, anni 1542, fol. 572 v.–579.

Passages from the Greek manuscripts have been added for comparison, the congruous parts of Vat. 1595 in full. We do not venture to make hypotheses concerning the text tradition. Vat. 1595 and the Coptic version are very close to each other but the similarity is not literal. Sometimes other manuscripts show an exact congruence with the Coptic where this is lacking in Vat. 1595. As a matter of fact this is the case in Vat. 1641. Delehaye [2] writes about Coptic martyrdoms as translations from Greek originals. He mentions a case, the passion of St. Paphnutius, in which the Coptic text is very similar to a Greek manuscript on papyrus from the 6th century. This might point to the fact that also our Coptic fragments render the Greek original more purely than the manuscripts mentioned above, which date from the 10th century or later. It is possible that the Greek text was conceived in an institute for hagiography in Alexandria. A translation was made on behalf of the Coptic churches where people could not understand the Greek. Also parts of martyrdoms were gathered together into a synaxary in order to be recited on the memorial days of the saints. A sheet of the Coptic version of the life of Eupraxia was published before [3] which also belongs to the collection of Coptic manuscripts at Utrecht. The day of Eupraxia's death is July the 24th and the one of Pantoleon is July the 27th. Therefore it is possible that the Eupraxia sheet and the Pantoleon fragments belonged to the same book. They have been written by the same hand. On account of the short interval of the dates this might have been a synaxary. In that we assume that these fragments

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[2] *Les Martyrs d'Egypte, Analecta Bollandiana, Tomus XL*, 1922, p. 149 sqq.

[3] *Vig. Chr. XIII*, 1959, pp. 193–203.

were obtained by Carl Schmidt from the same find. "Pantalaemon" also occurs in the Coptic synaxary which was conceived in Arabic by Michael, bishop of Athrib and Malig, early 15th century, the so called Jacobitic Synaxary or *Synaxarium Alexandrinum* [4]. In Vol. I, p. 69, Bandalāymūn is mentioned. It is told that Pantoleon heals a blind man. The emperor orders the blind to be slain. Pantoleon is arrested and tortured. Christ appears to him in the shape of Hermolaus ('Armūlāwos) who baptized him. When he is beheaded the soldiers hear a voice from heaven which promises grace to him. They become christians and are brought to death together with him.

Pantoleon (also spelled Pantaleon) is an important saint. Being originally a medical man by profession, he became the patron of the physicians. He is one of the 14 helpers in need. One of the pre-eminent monasteries on mount Athos, Roussikon (on account of Russian monks living there), is dedicated to him.

According to the Greek manuscripts the martyrdom of Pantoleon takes place under the reign of Maximianus, the coregent of Diocletianus, during the heavy persecution in Nicomedia, the capital of Bithynia. February 303 the big church opposite the palace there was devastated at the time of the issuing of the first imperial edict against the christians.

Now a short survey of Pantoleon's martyrdom according to the Greek texts follows: Pantoleon is the son of a counselor Eustorgos. He is bound as an apprentice to the physician Euphrosynos, court-physician to the emperor. The emperor wishes him to be Euphrosynos' successor. The old man Hermolaos lives together with other christians in a hidden place. Pantoleon is revealed to him to be a chosen vessel. He calls to Pantoleon and interrogates him concerning his parents. His father was a *"Ελλην*, his mother Euboule, who died, was a christian woman. Hermolaos says that Pantoleon should heal the sick, not through the doctrine of the pagan gods, but in the power of Christ. Christ has given power to those who are His to heal the sick and to raise the dead. Every day Pantoleon goes to the *presbyteros* and he is taught concerning the faith.

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[4] *C.S.C.O. Vol.* 90, *Scriptores Arabici, Tomus* 13, *Synaxarium Alexandrinum II, L. Forget, Louvain* 1953; *Vol.* 78, *Tomus* 12, *Louvain* 1953.

On his way from the physician, Euphrosynos, to his father he leaves the mainroad and he finds a boy lying dead on the ground, bitten by a viper which lies next to the child. Now he wishes to know if that which Hermolaos has told him is true. He invokes Christ and prays that the child may rise from the dead and that the snake may be killed. So it happens and Pantoleon becomes a christian. He asks baptism from Hermolaos. The *presbyteros* accompanies him to the place where the dead snake is. He thanks God for the miracle and baptizes Pantoleon who stays with him for seven days. Returned to his father, he says that he and his teacher have cured a pre-eminent courtier who was dangerously ill for seven days. When his teacher Euphrosynos asks him where he lingered so long, he says that he had to buy arable land for his father to be joined to a field which was more precious than any pearl. With this he pointed to the baptism which he received. Pantoleon does his best to conduct also his father to the faith. With every kind of question he endeavours to prove to his father that the pagan gods are without any value. "How is it possible, father, that some pagan gods are always standing and that others are sitting down?", he asks. His father becomes puzzled concerning such questions. Pantoleon does not wish to demolish the idols of his father in order not to make him angry. He trusts that his father will come to the christian faith in the long run and that he then will break the statues with his own hands. While Pantoleon considers these things a blind man is brought to him and he asks to receive help. Eustorgos says, "Also other physicians, even Euphrosynos, have tried to do so. How would you be able to heal him?". Pantoleon makes the blind man to see in Christ's name. Therefore his father comes to believe. Also he is taught by Hermolaos and he destroys his idols. After his father's death Pantoleon manumits all his slaves, sells his property and gives the money to the poor (Matth. 19 : 21). He heals many sick ones. Other physicians envy him and accuse him before Maximianus. The emperor summons the blind man who had been healed. This one says that Pantoleon has cured him by appealing to Christ. The man is decapitated (cf. John 9 : 1–41). The emperor summons Pantoleon. During the trial the latter quotes words from the psalms (109 : 1–5; 102 : 1–4; 64 : 1, 2; 55 : 17, 18; 9 : 1–5; 86 : 14, 15;

7 : 17; 129 : 1–5). Pantoleon proposes to call a lamed man from the street. First the priests of the idols are allowed to try to heal the man, after that he himself will do so. The pagan priests invoke their gods for many hours but in vain. Pantoleon heals the lamed man in the name of Christ who appears through this to be the true God (cf. 1 Kings 18 : 17–46). Pantoleon has to endure several tortures but they do not hurt him. Amidst his tribulations Christ appears to him in the shape of Hermolaos and He encourages him. The lions lick his feet in the arena and the spectators cry: "Great is the God of the christians". The emperor orders also Hermolaos and his two brothers to be introduced. They are decapitated. Pantoleon says to the emperor, "When you see your gods falling down to the earth, what should you say?". A message is brought that the gods have fallen and are broken to pieces. Pantoleon is conducted outside the town in order to be decapitated. The sword does not hit him. Also the hangman's assistants wish to become christians. Pantoleon prays, the heavens are opened and a voice is heard, "The throne and the wreath have been prepared for you. You will no more be named Pantoleon, but Panteleemon *(Παντελεήμων), διότι πολλοὺς ἔσῃ ἐλεῶν,* because you were a harbour for those afflicted by tempests, a refuge for the oppressed". Pantoleon himself commands his hangmen to kill him. First they kiss his body and then they give the blow. Miracles accompany his death. The Nicomedians come to the faith. So the fight of the martyr was accomplished outside the walls of the town of the Nicomedians in the *προάστειον* of a certain Adamantios, a scholar. The martyrdom shows the usual legendaric characteristics which developed into clichés in this kind of hagiography.

Translation of the Coptic fragments:

I. (Now I wish to know whether these words, which the presbyt)er (*πρεσβύτερος*) 2 (Hermolaos says, are true. He) lifted (his) eyes 3 up to heaven and (he) said, 4 "Lord Jesus 5 (Christ, if) I am worthy 6 that your name (is) pronounced 7 upon me and 8 (you) wish me to become 9 a servant to you, 10 then in your name, 11–12 may this child arise, 13–14 and may this beast (*θηρίον*) be torn." 15 He had hardly *(δέ)* finished his prayer 16–17 before the child arose 18 like *(ὡς)* 19 (somebody arises 20 from the sle)ep and....

II. (He went) to (the old pre) 2 sby(ter *(πρεσβύτερος)* in 3 great gladness. 4 He prostrated before him) 5 saying, 6 "O servant of Christ, 7 give me the bath (of) 8 immortality *(ἀθανασία)*, for *(γάρ)* I 9 came to believe *(πιστεύειν)* 10 on this day that there is no 11 other god 12 except our Lord Jesus 13 Christ and that through 14 Him the dead 15 arise." 16 (He told) him every(thing) 17 which had happened 18, (how through) the invo(cation *(παράκλησις)* 19 of) Christ 20 (the chi)ld arose....

III. (And they went away and Pantoleon showed him the place where the beast lay dead on the ground. 2–3 And when the old man had) seen (it), 4 (he lifted his eyes) up 5 (to) heaven, saying, 6 "O Lord Jesus Christ, 7 I praise your holy name 8 on account of 9 your glory and 10 your miracles and 11 your ineffable gifts *(δωρεά)*, 12, because you have 13 revealed your miracles 14 hastily 15 to your servant Pan-16 toleon." And (they) 17 went together 18 home 19 and Pa(ntol)eon....

IV. ("I was) 2 (very much in distress *(θλίβειν)*) 3 for your sake." (Pan-) 4 toleon (said to him,) 5 "There was somebody 6 (of the high dignitaries sick) 7 in the palace *(παλάτιον)* (whom) 8 we cured *(θεραπεύειν)*, 9 I (and my) 10 teacher because *(ἐπειδή)* (the sick one) 11 *(μέν)* was (known) *(γνωστός)* 12 to the (emperor). 13 We stayed there with (him) 14 for seven (days) 15–16 until the sick one had been healed *(θεραπεύειν)*."

V. "I 2 (stayed there for) seven 3 (days until) I had received 4 (the entire rent) *(νομή)*. 5 (For) *(γάρ)* that field 6 (was) more (valuable) 7 than all the pearls *(μαργαρίτης)*." 8 But *(δέ)* with (that) he (meant) 9 the baptism *(βάπτισμα)* which he had received. 10–11 After Euphrosynos had....

VI. ...saying, "My 2 father, why are some 3 of the gods 4 on the one hand *(μέν)* always standing 5 and are not able 6 to sit down, others 7 on the other hand *(δέ)* are sitting down and 8 are not able to rise at all?" 9 His father said 10 to him, "O my child, 11 by your health, the matter 12 for which you ask 13 is difficult and I am not able 14 to answer 15–16 you." The holy *(ἅγιος)* Pantoleon, however *(δέ)*, 17 (was filled with great grace *(χάρις)*)....

VII. (His father had many idols in) his house and many 2 times Pantoleon 3 wished to break them 4 but *(δέ)* he did not destroy them for the sake of 5 his father lest he should 6 make him wroth,

I

TUR.

x+

[πρεσβυτε]ρος	
[ϫω ̄μμοου αϥ]ϥι ει	αυω αϥϥι
[ατ̄ϥ εϩραϊ]ετπε πε	
[ϫαϥ ϫε πϫ]οεις ι̅ς̅ πε	εϥϫω ̄μμος ϫε
[χ̅ς̅ εϣω]πε ϯ̄μπϣα	εϣϫε
[ετρευ]ταυε πεκραν	̄μπεκτωϩ̄μ
[εϩραϊ]εϫωϊ αυω	ϯοϣϣ γαρ ε̄ρϩ̄μϩαλ νακ
[̄κου]ωϣ ετραϣω	
[πε ν]ακ ̄νϩ̄μϩαλ	
[ϩραϊ]ϩ̄μπεκραν	
[μα]ρευτωουν ̄ν	μαρε πεϊϣηρε ϣημ τωουν
[ϭι π]εϊϣηρε ϣημ	
[μαρ]ευπωϩ ̄νϭι	̄ντε πθηριον πωϩ ϩιτευ
[π]εϊθηριον ̄ντε	μητε αυω ̄ντευνευ
[ρ]ευουω δε ευϣληλ	απϣηρε ϣημ τωουν
[ ]̄ντευνου αυτω	αυαϩερατ̄ϥ ̄νθε ϩωϩ (sic)
ουν ̄νϭι πϣηρε	εβολϩα πϩι[ν]ηβ αυω
[ϣ]η[μ] ̄ν[θε] ϩως ε	
[ουρωμε τω]ου[ν]	
[ϩαπϩιν]ηβ αυω	

II

TUR.

x+

ϣα[πϩλλο ̄μπρε]	
cβυ[τερος ϩ̄ν]	
[ουνοϭ ̄νραϣε]	
[αϥπαϩτ̄ϥ ναϥ]	
εϥϫω ̄μμος ϫ[ε]	
πϩ̄μϩαλ ̄μπεχ̅ς̅	ϯcοπc ̄μμοκ [π]ϩ̄μϩαλ
μα ναϊ ̄μπϫωκ[̄μ ̄ν]	
ταθανασια ανοκ	
γαρ αϊπιστευε ̄μ	
ποου ̄νϩοου ϫε μ̄ν	
κενουτε ϣοοπ	
̄νσα πενϫοεις ι̅ς̅	
πεχ̅ς̅ αυω εβολ ϩι	
τοοτ̄ϥ ερε νετμο	
[ο]υτ τωουν	
[πεϫαϥ ε]ροϥ ̄ν[ϩωβ]	
[ν]ιμ [̄ντα]υϣω[πε]	
[̄ναϣ ̄νϩε ̄ν]τπαρα	
[κλησις ̄μπ]εχ̅ς̅ α	
[πϣηρε ϣ]ημ τωουν	

III

TUR.

x+

1 [ ]ⲁϥ ⲉⲡ[ ]
2 [ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣ]ⲉϥⲛⲁⲩ
3 [ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛ̄ϭⲓⲡϩⲗ̄ⲗⲟ ⲁϥ]
4 [ϥⲓ ⲉⲓⲁⲧϥ̄] ⲉϩⲣ[ⲁⲓ̈]
5 [ⲉⲧ]ⲡⲉ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ — ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ
6 ϫⲉ ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓ̈ⲥ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅ — ⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ
7 ϯⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲕⲣⲁⲛ — ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲁⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲉ
8 ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲉ
9 ϫⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ — ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲛ̄ⲧ..
10 ⲛⲉⲕϣⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ — ϣⲛ̄ϩⲧⲏϥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲕⲇ[ⲱⲣⲉⲁ
11 ⲛⲉⲕⲇⲱⲣⲉⲁ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧ — ⲛ̄ⲁⲧϣⲁ]ϫⲉ
12 ϣⲁϫⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲁⲕ
13 ⲟⲩⲉⲛϩ̄ ⲛⲉⲕϣⲡⲏ
14 ⲣⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩϭⲉⲡⲏ — ϣⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲕ..... ϩⲛ̄
15 ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕϩⲙ̄ϩⲁⲗ ⲡⲁⲛ — ⲟⲩϭⲉⲡⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲕϩ
16 ⲧⲟⲗⲉⲱⲛ ⲁⲩⲱ [ⲁⲩ]
17 ⲃⲱⲕ ⲙⲛ̄[ⲛ]ⲉⲩ[ⲉⲣⲏ]ⲩ
18 ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲉϫ[ⲉⲛⲉⲡϣ]ⲣ
19 ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲁ[ⲛⲧⲟⲗ]ⲉⲱⲛ

IV

TUR.

x+

1 [ⲁⲓ̈ⲑⲗⲓ]
2 ⲃ[ⲉ] ⲉ[ⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲏ]
3 ⲏⲧⲕ[ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲛ]
4 ⲧⲟⲗⲉⲱⲛ[ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲟ̣]
5 ⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲱ[ⲙⲉ] — ⲧⲏⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ.....
6 ⲧ̣ⲡ̣ . . . [ ] — ⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϣⲱⲛⲉ
7 ϩⲙ̣̄ⲡ̣ⲡ̣ⲁ̣ⲗ[ⲁⲧⲓⲟ] — ϩⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲡⲁⲗⲁⲧ]ⲓⲟⲛ
8 ⲛ ⲉⲛⲑⲉⲣⲁ[ⲡⲉⲩⲉ ⲙ̄]
9 ⲙⲟϥ ⲁⲛⲟ[ⲕ ⲙⲛ̄ⲡⲁ]
10 ⲥⲁϩ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲇ[ⲏ ⲡ̣ϣ̣ⲱ̣ⲛ̣ⲉ̣] — ϣⲱⲛⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟ....
11 ⲙ̣ⲉ̣ⲛ̣ ⲉ̣ϥ̣ⲟ ⲛ̄[ⲟⲩⲅⲛⲱⲥ̣]
12 ⲧⲟⲥ ϩⲁⲧⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ]
13 ⲁⲛϭⲱ ϩⲁϩⲧ[ⲏϥ] — ⲁϥϭⲱ ϩ....
14 ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲥⲁϣϥ̄ ⲛ̄[ϩⲟⲟⲩ]
15 ϣⲁⲛⲧϥ̄ⲑⲉⲣⲁ[ⲡⲉⲩⲉ]
16 ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲡⲉⲧϣⲱⲛⲉ

V

		TUR.
1 x+	[ ]ⲁϊ	
2	[ϭⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲥⲁ]ϣϥ̄	
3	[ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲟⲩ ϣⲁⲛ]†ϫⲓ	
4	[ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲟⲙⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ̄]ⲧⲥⲱ	ϫⲓ ⲛⲧⲛ . . .
5	[ϣⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ] ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ	ϣⲉ. . . . ϣⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉ . . .
6	[ⲥ̣ⲧ̣ⲁ̣ⲏ̣ⲩ̣ ⲛ̄]ϩⲟⲩⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲣ	ⲙⲙⲟⲛ. . . . .
7	[ⲅⲁⲣ ⲓⲧⲏⲥ] ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥ	ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ̈
8	[ϫⲉ ⲛⲁ]ⲓ̈ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲃⲁ	
9	[ⲡⲧⲓⲥ]ⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥϫⲓ	
10	[ⲧϥ̄] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲉⲩⲫⲣⲁ	ⲉⲩⲫⲣⲟ
11	[ⲥⲩⲛⲟⲥ]	ⲥⲩⲛⲟⲥ

VI

		TUR.
1 x+	ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄[ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ] ⲡ[ⲁ]	
2	ⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ϩⲟⲓ̈	
3	ⲛⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ ϩⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩ	
4	ⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲁϩⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄	
5	ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲙⲉⲩⲉϣ̄]	ⲛⲓⲙ.ϩⲟⲓⲛⲉ ⲇⲉ
6	ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ϩⲉⲛⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ	
7	ⲇⲉ ⲉⲩϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲉⲙⲉⲩ	
8	ⲉϣⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲧⲏ	ⲉϣⲧ[ⲱ]ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲛ[ⲉϩ]
9	ⲣϥ̄ ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲉⲓⲱⲧ	
10	ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲁϣⲏⲣⲉ	
11	ϣⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ⲡϣⲁ	. . . ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡϣⲁϫⲉ
12	ϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲕ̄ϣⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱϥ	
13	ϩⲟⲣϣ̄ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲛ̄ϭⲟⲙ	. . . . ϥⲉϣϭⲟⲙ ⲙⲙ. .
14	ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲓ̈ ⲉⲟⲩⲱϣⲃ̄	
15	ⲛⲁⲕ ⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ	
16	ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲗⲉⲱⲛ ⲁϥ	
		ⲙⲟⲩϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥ

VII

	TUR
2+	
ⲡⲉϥⲏⲓ̈ ⲁⲩⲱ ϩⲁϩ ⲛ̄	
ⲥⲟⲡ ⲁⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲗⲉⲱⲛ	
ⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲟⲩⲟϭⲡⲟⲩ ⲙ̄	... ⲟϭⲡⲟⲩ ⲉⲙ̄ⲡϥ̄
ⲡⲉϥⲧⲁⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ	...
ⲡⲉϥⲉⲓⲱⲧ ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥ	
ⲛⲟⲩϭⲉ̄ ⲛⲁϥ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲙⲁⲗ	
ⲗⲟⲛ ϫⲉ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩ	...ⲟⲛ ϫⲉ ⲉ[ϥ]ⲛⲁⲡⲓ..
ⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅ [ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲁⲕⲟⲟⲩ]	..ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲁⲕⲟⲟⲩ
ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲅⲛⲱⲙⲏ [ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ]	....ⲙⲏ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ..
ⲱⲧ ϩⲓⲱⲥⲇⲉ ⲉⲣ[ⲉ]	
ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲗⲉⲱⲛ [ⲙⲉ]	[ⲡⲁ]ⲛⲧⲟⲗⲉⲱⲛ ⲇⲉ
ⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲓ̈ ϩⲙ̄ⲡⲉ[ϥϩⲏⲧ]	
ⲁⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃ[ⲗ̄ⲗⲉ]	
ⲉⲩϫⲓ ⲙⲟⲉⲓⲧ ϩ[ⲏⲧϥ̄]	ⲉⲧϫⲓ ⲙⲟⲉⲓⲧ
ⲁⲩⲧⲱϩⲙ̄ ⲉⲡⲣ[ⲟ]	ⲁⲩⲧⲱϩⲙ̄ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲣⲙ̄
	ⲡⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲉⲓⲧ'

but *(ἀλλά)* 7 rather *(μᾶλλον)* in order that he would come to believe *(πιστεύειν)* 8 in Christ (and that they would destroy them) 9 unanimously *(γνώμη)*. 10 But when *(ὡς δέ)* 11 Pantoleon 12 considered these things in his (heart) 13 they brought a b(lind man) 14 whom they guided. 15 They knocked at the door 16 (of the forecourt)....

VIII. Of this fragment nearly nothing is legible.

Text of the corresponding passages in Vat. 1595.

I. *νῦν ὀφείλω γνῶναι εἰ ἀληθῆ εἰσὶν τὰ ὑπὸ ἑρμολάου λεγόμενα· καὶ ἀτενίσας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶπεν· κύριε ἰησοῦ χριστέ, εἰ ἄξιός εἰμι τῆς κλήσεώς σου καὶ βούλει με δοῦλόν σου εἶναι, ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου ἀναστήτω τὸ παιδίον, καὶ τὸ θηρίον διαρραγεῖτω. καὶ εὐθέως ἀνέστη τὸ παιδίον ὡς ἀπὸ ὕπνου καὶ τὸ θηρίον διερράγη. εὐθέως*

II. *δὲ ὑποστρέψας πρὸς ἑρμόλαον προσπεσὼν τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτοῦ ἔφη· δέομαί σου, δοῦλε τοῦ χριστοῦ, δός μοι τὸ λουτρὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας. ἐγὼ γὰρ πεπίστευκα ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος θεὸς πλὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ. καὶ διηγήσατο αὐτῷ ὁ παντολέων τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ ὅτι τὸ παιδίον ἀνέστη . . .*

III. *Ὁ δὲ ἑρμόλαος θεασάμενος τὸ γεγονός, ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶπεν· δόξα σοι κύριε ἰησοῦ χριστέ, ὅτι ἐτάχυνας ἀποκαλύψαι τὴν χάριν σου τῷ σῷ δούλῳ παντολέοντι. καὶ ὑπέστρεψαν ἀμφότεροι εἰς τὸ δομάτιον. καὶ δεδωκὼς αὐτῷ τὸ λουτρὸν τῆς ἀθανασίας ἔμεινεν συν αὐτῷ ἡμέρας ἑπτά. τῇ δὲ ὀγδόῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπῆει εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ.*

IV. *ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ φησὶν πρὸς αὐτόν· ποῦ ἦς, τέκνον, τὰς τοσαύτας ἡμέρας. ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη· ἄνδρα τινὰ τῶν τοῦ παλατίου ἀρρωστίᾳ κατεχόμενον καὶ τοῦτον περιοδεύσαντα ἐγώ τε καὶ ὁ μαΐστωρ μου. καὶ ἐπειδὴ γνωστὸς ἦν τῷ βασιλεῖ παρεμείναμεν αὐτῷ τὰς ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας, ἕως οὗ εἰς τέλος ἐθεραπεύθη . . .*

V. *ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς ἔφη· ὁ πατήρ μου ἀγρὸν ὠνήσατο καὶ ἀπέστειλέν με λαβεῖν τὰς νομὰς αὐτοῦ· παντὸς γὰρ μαργαρίτου τιμιώτερός ἐστιν. ἔλεγε δὲ τοῦτο περὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ὃ ἦν δεξάμενος. ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ εὐφρόσυνος οὐκέτι προσέθετο τοῦ ἐπερωτᾶν αὐτόν . . .*

VI. *φησὶν πρὸς αὐτόν· πατέρ μου, διὰ τί οἱ θεοὶ οἱ μὲν ἑστηκότες διὰ παντὸς ἵστανται, οἱ δὲ πάλιν καθεύδουσιν τὸ καθόλου μὴ δυνάμενοι ἀναστῆναι· ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ ἄλλοις δύνανται βοηθεῖν. ὁ δὲ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ λέγει αὐτῷ· τέκνον μου, τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο βαρύ ἐστι*

καὶ οὐκ ἰσχύω πρὸς ταῦτα ἀποκριθῆναί σοι. ὁ δὲ παντολέων πλησθεὶς χαρὰς ἐδόξασεν τὸν θεὸν λέγων· . . .

VII. *ὁ δὲ ἅγιος παντολέων πολλάκις ἠβουλήθη συντρῖψαι τὰ εἴδωλα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μὴ παροργίσαι τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐποίει, ἀλλ' ἐμακροθύμει δεόμενος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ λέγων· κύριε ὁ θεός, ἐπίστρεψον τὸν δοῦλόν σου εἰς τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς σῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ οὕτως κοινῇ γνώμῃ καταβάλωμεν αὐτά. ταῦτα αὐτοῦ διαλογιζομένου ἠνέχθη αὐτῷ τυφλὸς χειραγωγούμενος. καὶ κρούσαντες ἐπυνθάνοντο εἰ ὧδε ἐστὶν ὁ ἰατρὸς παντολέων.*

Notes on other Greek versions:

I, 6, Tur. *tôhm* = *κλῆσις*, Crum, Coptic Dict. 459.a; Pet. *εἰ ἄξιός εἰμι πληθῆναί σοι δοῦλος;* Vat. 1572, *εἰ ἄξιός εἰμι τῆς κλήσεώς σου.* 8/9, Vat. 1572, *καὶ βούλει με δοῦλόν σου εἶναι.*

10, Vat. 1572, *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου τῷ ἁγίῳ ἀναστήτω τὸ παιδίον;* Vat. 1641 om. *ἁγίῳ* with *ὀνόματι.*

13/14 Vat. 1572, *τὸ δὲ θηρίον διαρραγείτω;* Vat. 1190, *διαρραγήτω.*

15, Pet. *εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ ταῦτα;* Vat. 1572, *καὶ ταῦτα εὐξαμένου τοῦ Παντολέοντος;* om. Vat. 1595.

16/20 Vat. 1641, om. *ὡς ἀπὸ ὕπνου.*

II, 4/5, Pet. *παρεκάλει αὐτὸν λέγων;* Vat. 1572, *προσέπεσε τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτοῦ λέγων;* Vat. 1641, *προσέπεσεν τοῖς ποσὶν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου λέγων.*

6, Pet. *Δέομαί σου;* id. Vat. 1572, 1595, 1641; Utr. Ms. om.

7/8, Pet., Vat. 1572, *τὸ λουτρὸν* (= *ḏjôkm*) *τῆς ἀθανασίας;* Vat. 1641, *ἀφθαρσίας,* id. Vat. 1595.

9/20 = Pet.

10, Pet. *ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ;* Vat. 1572, *ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας,* id. Vat. 1595; Vat. 1641, *τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ.*

16, Vat. 1572, *καὶ διηγήσατο ἅπαν τὸ γεγονός;* Vat. 1641, *πάντα τὰ γεγενημένα.*

18, 19, Pet. *πῶς τῇ ἐπικλήσει τοῦ Χρ.,* idem + *τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν* Vat. 1641.

III, 6 sqq., Pet. *Δόξα σοι καὶ μεγαλοπρέπεια, ὁ θεός, ὅτι οὕτως ἐτάχυνας τὴν χάριν σου εἰς τὸν δοῦλόν σου Παντ.*

7, Vat. 1572, completely different *ἰδὼν ὁ πρεσβύτερος δόξαν ἔδωκεν τῷ θεῷ;* Vat. 1190, *δόξα καὶ μεγαλοπρέπεια συ (?) τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν.*

13, Vat. 1641, *Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστε, δόξα τῇ δόξει* (sic) (*eow*) *δόξα σον τοῖς οἰκτιρμοῖς* (N.B. Crum 716, b = *ŝnhêt* cf. Tur.), *δόξα συν τῇ ἀνεκδιηγήτῳ* (cf. *atšadje*, 11/12 and Crum 613, a) *ἀγαθότητι καὶ δωρεᾷ* (cf. 11) *ὅτι ἐτάχυνας τὰ σᾶ μυστήρια* (cf. *ŝpêre*, 13) *τῷ δούλῳ σου Π.*

17, Pet. *πορευθέντες δὲ ἀμφότεροι εἰ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸ κέλλιον τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου;* Vat. 1595 *τὸ δωμάτιον* (cf. Crum 775, a, *δῶμα* = *djinepôr*); Vat. 1641, *καὶ πορευθέντες ἐν τῷ δωματίῳ.*

IV, 1–3, Pet. *ἐν γὰρ θλίψει ἦμην μεριμνῶν περὶ σοῦ;* Vat. 1190, *καὶ ἐμερίμνων περὶ σου;* om. Vat. 1595; Vat. 1641, *καὶ ἐποίησας ἡμᾶς ἐν θρίψει διάγειν.*

5–8, Pet. *Τῶν μεγιστάνων τοῦ βασιλέως τινὰ περιωδεύομεν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ;* Vat. 1572, *ἄνθρωπος ὢν (ἦν ?) τῶν περιδόξων, ἀσθενῶν* (= Tur. *šône*) *δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ διάγων;* Vat. 1190, *τις ἐκ τῶν μεγιστάνων τοῦ βασιλέως ἠσθένησε;* Vat. 1641, *ἄνδρα ἐν πολλῇ ἀσθενείᾳ διάγοντα ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ.*

8, Pet. *περιωδεύομεν;* Vat. 1572, *παρεμένομεν αὐτῷ ἰατρεύοντες;* Vat. 1190, *διήγομεν;* Vat. 1641, *τοῦτον περιωδεύσαμεν.* Not one ms. has *θεραπεύω!*

10/11, Vat. 1641, *ἐπειδὴ φανερῶς ἦν τῷ βασιλεῖ.*

13, Pet. *παρεμείναμεν ἡμέρας ἑπτά;* Vat. 1641 like Vat. 1595.

15/16, Pet. *ἕως οὗ εἰς τέλος ἰαθῇ ὁ ἀνήρ;* Vat. 1572, *ἕως οὗ εἰς τέλος ὁ ἀσθενῶν ἐθεραπεύθην;* Vat. 1641, *ἕως εἰς τέλος ἐθεραπεύθη.*

V, 1–4, Pet. *καὶ παρέμεινα τὰς ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας, ἕως οὗ πᾶσαν τὴν περὶ τὸν ἀγρὸν ἐκτησάμην νομήν;* Vat. 1572, *παρέμεινα αὐτῷ;* Vat. 1641, almost equal to Pet.

4–7, Pet. *παντὸς γὰρ μαργαρίτου τιμιώτερός ἐστιν ὁ ἀγρὸς ἐκεῖνος;* Vat. 1572, - - - *τιμιώτερον τὸ κτῆμα ὃ ἐκτησάμην;* Vat. 1641, *παντὸς γὰρ μαργαρίτου τιμιώτερον κτῆμα ἐστί.* Crum equivalent of *sôše ἀγρός*, not *κτῆμα.*

7–10, Pet. *ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγε περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος οὗ εἰλήφει;* Vat. 1572 completely different; Vat. 1641, *ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα.*

VI, Pet. otherwise, nothing sitting and standing gods. Metaphrastes deals with them.

1–6, Vat. 1572, *Πάτερ, διὰ τί οἱ θεοὶ ἑστηκότες διηνεκῶς οὐ κατέζονται;* Vat. 1641, *Πάτερ διὰ τί οἱ θεοὶ οἱ μὲν στήκουν, οἱ δὲ* (= Tur.).

6–9, Vat. 1572, *καὶ οἱ κατεζόμενοι - - - οὔποτε ἀνίστανται;* Vat. 1641, *οἱ δὲ καθήμενοι οὐδεπω* (= Tur.) *ἀνίστανται.*

9–15, Pet. *Μὰ τὴν ἐμὴν σωτηρίαν, τέκνον, τὸ ῥῆμα ὅπερ εἴρηκας ἡδέως κατεδεξάμην καὶ οὐ δύναμαί σοι ἀντειπεῖν;* Vat. 1572, *τέκνον, μὰ τὴν ἐμὴν σωτηρίαν, τὸ ῥῆμα ὃ εἴρηκας βαρύ ἐστιν οὐ δύναμαί σοι ἀποκριθῆναι;* Vat. 1641, *τὸ ῥημα ὁ ζητεῖς βαρύ ἐστιν καὶ οὐ δύναμαί σοι ἀποκριθῆναι.* Tur. end. Greek text *χαρᾶς.*

Vat. 1595 has here some striking similarities.

VII, 1–3, Pet. *ἐβουλεύσατο πολλάκις συντρῖψαι αὐτά;* Vat. 1641, *πλειστάκις βουλόμενος καταστρέψαι αὐτούς.*

4, Pet. *ἀνεβάλετο;* Vat. 1641, *ἀνέτρεπεν ἑαυτόν.*

4–6, Pet. *διὰ δὲ τὸ μὴ παροργίσαι τὸν πατέρα;* Vat. 1572, *ἵνα μὴ παροργήσῃ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ;* Vat. 1190, *οὐ μὴ παροργήσω τὸν πατέρα μου;* Vat. 1641, *λέγων· οὐ μὴ παροργήσω τὸν πατέρα μου.*

6/7, Vat. 1190, *ἀλλ'ὅταν;* Vat. 1641, *ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον.*

8, Pet. *καταβαλεῖ;* Vat. 1572, *κατακλάσει;* Vat. 1641, *καταναλῶμεν ἂν τούς.*

9, Vat. 1641 like Vat. 1595, *κοινῇ γνώμῃ.*

11/12, Vat. 1572, *ταῦτα ἐνθυμουμένου καί;* Vat. 1190, *ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος;* Vat. 1641, *καὶ ταῦτα ἐνθυμουμένου τοῦ Π.*

13–15, Vat. 1572 *- - - οὐ πρὸς αὐτὸν χειραγωγούμενον τυφλὸν - - -* differently; Vat. 1641, *ἤγαγόν τινα χειραγωγούμενον τυφλὸν καὶ κρούοντες.*

Annotation to I, 6–7, "to pronounce the name of Christ upon", see G. Kittel, Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, v, 262, 45, Hebrew *niqrå' šem 'al*, LXX *ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐπ' ἐμοί, Ier* 15, 16, etc.; Deut. 28, 10, Coptic Sahidic, *tawo ehrai edjn*, LXX, *τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου ἐπικέκληταί σοι.* James 2, 7 *τὸ καλὸν ὄνομα ἐπικληθὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς* must refer to baptism, cf. Acts 2, 38. Also in our case a parallel of being baptized is used. In early Christianity baptism consisted of three parts: immersion in water, sealing (*sphragis*) and the pronunciation of the holy name above the catechumen[5].

Bilthoven and *Utrecht*

[5] The English has been revised by Mr. G. Story M.A., Garret Biblical Institute, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, U.S.A.

REVIEWS

H. L. Strack–P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, Band VI *Verzeichnis der Schriftgelehrten, Geographisches Register*, herausgegeben von Joachim Jeremias in Verbindung met Kurt Adolph, München, Ch. H. Beck, 1961, 198 SS.

This volume brings to a close the monumental and indispensible work of Billerbeck, the first part of which appeared 40 years ago (1922). Together with the indices of subjects and O.T. texts (Bd. IV 2), of the source material (Bd. V) this final volume is a great help to open the rich storehouse and to make an intelligent use of it. Especially the extensive list of the rabbis who come to word is most welcome. Many readers of this commentary will as the present reviewer often have been puzzled by the names of the witnesses quoted and wondered about the date of a certain authority which is so highly important for the evaluation of a given quotation. Since the Talmudim and Midrashim cover so wide areas in space and time, one must ascertain whether a given opinion is of an early or late date, is traditional or singular. Previously one had to turn to Strack's excellent *Einleitung*, but this index is much more conveniently arranged and handy. At specific points the line of tradition is clearly indicated and in this respect one will be deeply grateful to Vikar Adolph for the tables at the end of the Tannaites and Amorim which give such a good survey of these relations. This volume has therefore a great value for talmudic studies in general, apart from its connection with Billerbeck's work. Much unrewarding labour has been bestowed upon the task of compiling these indices. Professor Jeremias and Vikar Adolph may be most heartily congratulated at the completion of this work and may be sure of the lasting gratitude of the many anonymi whose daily bread is Billerbeck's *Kommentar*.

Bilthoven, Sweelincklaan 4 W. C. VAN UNNIK

Gerhard Huber, *Das Sein und das Absolute*. Studien zur Geschichte der ontologischen Problematik in der spätantiken Philosophie (Studia Philosophica, Supplementum 6). Basel, Verlag für Recht und Gesellschaft, 1955. 206 S.

Für den Griechen ist das Sein erkennbar; das Sein ist rational. Im Platonismus, besonders bei Plotin, ist dem Sein ein über alle Erkenntnis hinausgehobenes Absolute gegenübergestellt. Das Sein und das Absolute sind im griechischen Denken also zwei; das

Absolute ist transzendent gegenüber dem Sein. Bei Augustin aber, und schon zum Teil bei Marius Victorinus, die diese Lehre bei der Behandlung des Trinitätsproblems anwenden, verschmilzt das Sein mit dem Absoluten; damit wird das Sein, das zu Erkennende, eigentlich unkennbar, weil es das Absolute ist, das nicht erkannt werden kann. Diese Verschmelzung ist, so meint H., die Ursache einer Zwiespältigkeit in der abendländischen Philosophie, welche in die Subjektivität des absoluten Seins in der Hegelschen Philosophie mündet. H. bringt diese Problematik in Zusammenhang mit dem Hauptproblem der Existenzphilosophie, „der Frage nach dem Sein".

H. ist bei dieser Studie offenbar von der Hypostasenlehre Plotins ausgegangen. Er hat zunächst die Beziehungen zwischen dem Einen und dem Geist untersucht. Was er in diesem Abschnitt seines Werkes sagt, zeigt oft ein gründliches Bekanntsein mit diesem Denker, obwohl der Autor sich auch hier oft in eine nebelige Sprache hüllt, die es dem Leser sehr schwer macht. So sagt er z.B. über „Plotins Seinsbegreifung": „Der Grundzug, welcher der Spiritualisierung des Eidos und überhaupt der Dynamisierung des Seins eigen ist, geht dahin, die eidetischen Gestalten aufzulösen in die Bewegung des Denkens, die die Lebendigkeit des Geistes ausmacht, und dessen Sein zu einer Stufe herabzusetzen, über die die dynamische Entfaltung aus dem Absoluten hinweggeht" (S. 38). Das verhindert aber nicht, dass die Betrachtung H.s über die Transzendenz bei Plotin eine Vertrautheit mit diesem Denker verrät.

Dasselbe kann leider nicht gesagt werden in Bezug auf die anderen Autoren, die H. bespricht. Die Ursache hiervon liegt am Tage. Wie er selbst sagt (S. 11), geht es ihm nicht darum die „realen geschichtlichen Wirkungszusammenhänge" in der Philosophiegeschichte aufzudecken, sondern um die „sachlichen Beziehungen". Dies bedeutet in Wirklichkeit, dass er die Autoren nur braucht insofern sie Texte bieten, die das Schema, das H. sich von der Geschichte der abendländischen Philosophie gemacht hat, stützen. Zu welchen Resultaten eine solche Haltung führen kann zeigt sich am schärfsten, wenn H. in Bezug auf die Trinitätslehre Augustins behauptet: „Diese durch das Dogma legitimierte Redeweise scheint für Augustin am Ende eine rein verbale Sache ohne aufweisbaren Sinngehalt" (S. 152). Eine solche Enormität spricht für sich. Für H., nicht für Augustin ist diese Redeweise eine rein verbale Sache, und dies weil er nicht in das Denken Augustins eingedrungen ist, sondern nur seine Worte für seinen eigenen Zweck anwendet. Wenn man will, kann man dies tun. Aber dann soll man sich von einem Urteil über den Autor fernhalten und auch nicht den Eindruck wecken historische Arbeit zu verrichten. Dafür genügt es nicht zu erklären, dass man nicht „als reiner Historiker" schreiben will. Das ist die

grundsätzliche Zwiespältigkeit im Werke H.s. Est is ein in hohem Masse tendenziöser Historismus. Die „sachliche" Haltung bringt den Autor auch dazu mehrere Denker, Denkrichtungen und Resultate moderner Untersuchungen zu vernachlässigen.

Das Werk ist voll allgemeiner Behauptungen, bei denen der Autor eine bestimmte, subjektive Konklusion voraussetzt, und darum den Leser nicht überzeugt. So ist die zentrale Behauptung, dass die moderne Subjektivität ihren Ursprung in der Ineinssetzung des neuplatonischen Seins mit dem Absoluten hat, nicht überzeugend nachgewiesen. Auch die Beziehung zwischen der sogenannten Zwiespältigkeit im gegenwärtigen Denken und der Seinsphilosophie der Existenzphilosophen bleibt im Dunkeln. — Es ist gut möglich, dass der Autor etwas zu sagen hat. Aber das Werk, wie es vorliegt, bedarf einer gründlichen Katharsis.

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R. W. Muncey, *The New Testament Text of St Ambrose* (Texts & Studies, New Series IV). Cambridge, University Press, 1959. Pp. LXXVIII+119. Pr. 32/6.

This book contains a collection of New Testament quotations by St Ambrose (Text) preceded by an Introduction. The author's intention is "to reconstruct the New Testament text as quoted by St Ambrose; to compare his text with the Old Latin texts and Vulgate texts, and to examine the text with reference to the underlying Greek" (p. v).

The Biblical passages are given in the form they have in one quotation; deviations in other quotations of the same passage are sometimes mentioned in the critical apparatus, but not further dealt with. Besides, a general discussion of Ambrose's method of quoting is missing. The problem of quotation from memory, and the question whether, and how far, paraphrases can tell us anything about the Bible text(s) used by Ambrose are left out of consideration.

Worse, however, is that Muncey's collection is far from complete, and that his data are extremely inaccurate, as is shown by a comparison with the works of Ambrose edited by Schenkl and Faller in C.S.E.L. 32, 4 and 73, 7. It may suffice to give the results of this comparison in the case of the quotations from the Gospel according to St Mark (without a claim to exhaustiveness):
Lacking are: 7, 34 (*sacr.* 1, 2; *myst.* 1, 3); 10, 52 (*explan. symb.* 6, 14/5); 14, 22 (*myst.* 9, 55); 16, 17/8 (*paen.* 1, 8, 35). — 1, 2: *ecce, mitto angelum meum et vox clamantis in deserto*, read 1, 2: *ecce, m.a.m.* 1, 3: *vox cl. in des.* (*et* does not belong to the quotation).

– 3, 27: *vassa*, read *vasa*; M. does not note that Ambr. omits the words *ingressus in domum*; the reference is *exp. Luc.* 2, 80 (not 2, 79). – 3, 33/5: *frater*, read *fratres* (twice); the quotation given as Mark 3, 34/5 is really Luke 8, 21; the reference is missing (*exp. Luc.* 8, 73). – 7, 11: *munus est quod ex me tibi prodiret* (read *proderit*); no *adnot. crit.*, though *est* is deleted by Schenkl; besides, this is not a quotation from Mark: Ambr. is explaining Matt. 15, 5 just quoted by him, and in this explanation (introduced by *id est*) he repeats the passage with a slight alteration (*quod* instead of *quodcumque*). – 9, 3: in the critical apparatus M. notes: *candida splendentia nimis* f Vulg., but the reading of the Vulg. is *splendentia et candida nimis*. – 9, 49: *omnis enim victima sale salietur*, but *enim* does not belong to the quotation. – 11, 2: *quem nemo adhuc sedit hominum*; no *adnot. crit.*, though the Vulg. reads *super quem nemo adhuc hominum sedit*; the reference is *exp. Luc.* 9, 5 (not 8, 4). – 11, 22: *habete fidem in vobis ipsis*; M. does note that the Vulg. reads *fidem dei*, but not that it omits *in vobis ipsis*. – 14, 13: the *adnot. crit.* on the orthography of *laguna* in the MSS. of Ambr. is incomplete (M. only mentions the reading of π, the Benedictine ed., and Balerini). – *Praecedam vos in Galilaeam, ibi me videbitis*, is given without any critical note as a quotation both of 14, 28 and of 16, 7 (in the second instance without reference). Actually it is a contamination of both passages. – 16, 15/6: in v. 15 the word *evangelium* has dropped out; M. fails to note that Ambr. connects these verses by *et*, and that the Vulg. reads *omni creaturae* (Ambr. *universae creaturae*) and *salvus erit* (Ambr. *hic salvus erit*); the reference is *exp. Luc.* 7, 81 (not 11, 182) – *Exp. Luc.* 10, 1: *ut Christum et dominum deum nostrum et ad dexteram dei sedere credamus*, is not a quotation of 16, 19 (at the most an allusion to it), the word *deum* has dropped out, the reference is missing.

In the Introduction similar deficiencies are found: quotations are given in a form different from that in the Text, notes on the Old Latin Versions and the Fathers do not correspond with those in the critical apparatus, *variae lectiones* are mentioned incorrectly or incompletely. In these circumstances it serves no purpose to discuss the chapters of this introduction separately (they are: The accuracy of the quotations of St Ambrose. List of Greek and Latin MSS. referred to or used; MSS. of St Ambrose; ecclesiastical writers cited in this book. The New Testament text of St Ambrose. The Greek text implied by St Ambrose. Syntax and vocabulary. Notes on some select quotations from the New Testament). We can only conclude regretfully that this is a useless book.

The Hague, Sportlaan 1216 P. G. VAN DER NAT

Otto Schaffner, *Christliche Demut.* Des Hl. Augustinus Lehre von der Humilitas. Würzburg 1959 (=Cassiciacum Bd. XVII) 327 S.

Sicherlich gibt es unter den Vätern der Kirche keinen, dessen Werk eine solche Fülle von Aussagen über das Wesen der christlichen Demut enthält wie die Schriften Augustins, und der Verf. der hier angezeigten Arbeit war recht beraten, wenn er, offenbar mit dem Endziel einer allgemeinen theologischen Explikation des Demut-Begriffs, seine Bemühungen ganz auf Augustin konzentrierte.

Die Abhandlung ist sehr breit angelegt und sucht die Vielzahl der Demut-Aussagen des augustinischen Gesamtwerkes mit Hilfe eines dichten Systems anthropologischer, soteriologischer und moraltheologischer Beziehungen verständlich zu machen (vgl. etwa den orientierenden Abschnitt S. 147–184 über die allgemeine Lehre Augustins vom Menschen). Der Verf. erweist sich dabei als vorzüglicher Augustin-Kenner und vermag auch dem nicht-theologischen Leser viele Einsichten zu vermitteln, die seiner sorgfältigen Beobachtung und dem Reichtum der von ihm berücksichtigten Gesichtspunkte theologischer Art zu danken sind. Mit seiner ausführlichen Behandlung zahlreicher Augustin-Perikopen wird das Buch noch lange der Augustin-Forschung und darüber hinaus der Dogmengeschichte überhaupt ein wichtiges Hilfsmittel sein. Ganz geht es allerdings trotz der sehr sorgfältigen und durchdachten Gliederung des Buches nicht ohne Längen und Wiederholungen ab, welche die Geduld des Lesers bisweilen etwas strapazieren.

Dass historische Gesichtspunkte bei dem Bemühen des Verf. um das Verständnis der augustinischen Demut-Lehre weithin zurücktreten, mag man vielleicht bedauern, wird es aber billigerweise angesichts der Zielsetzung der Arbeit nicht als ihre Schwäche bezeichnen dürfen. Gewiss erführe man sehr gern etwas über das Verhältnis der Demut-Lehre Augustins zu den Gegebenheiten des politischen, sozialen und insbesondere des kirchlichen Lebens seiner Zeit sowie etwas mehr über die in den vorhergehenden Jahrhunderten geschaffenen Voraussetzungen theologischer und philosophischer Art, von denen die augustinische Demut-Lehre ausgeht. Der einzige Autor, der hier in grösserem Umfange zu Worte kommt, ist Ambrosius, während der einleitende Abschnitt (35–52) über den Begriff der Demut und seine Geschichte dem Ganzen ziemlich unverbunden vorangestellt und allzu wenig ausgearbeitet ist. So bleiben die Möglichkeiten, aus den unter andersartigen Bedingungen konzipierten Demut-Lehren des Origenes, der Kappadokier oder der Apophthegmata Patrum Einsichten in die spezifischen Merkmale augustinischer Demut-Spekulation zu gewinnen, im Ganzen ungenutzt.

Die geschilderte Anlage des Buches erschwert es dem theolo-

gischen Laien, dem es vorzugsweise um ein historisches Verständnis der altkirchlichen Dogmen und Institutionen zu tun ist, sich mit seinen Ergebnissen gebührend auseinanderzusetzen. Ungeschmälert aber bleibt davon der Dank, den sich der Verf. durch die gewissenhafte Sichtung und Darbietung des reichen Überlieferungsstoffes erworben hat.

Köln, Universität ALBRECHT DIHLE
Institut für Altertumskunde

Egon Wellesz, *The Akathistos Hymn* (Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Transcripta, Vol. IX). Copenhagen, Ejnar Munksgaard, 1957. XCII + 108 pp. Pr. Dan.cr. 34.–.

In the course of centuries the service of the word in the christian celebration of the mass has seen many forms of evolution in the various countries. As early as the 4th and 5th centuries the reading of the gospel among the Syrians gave rise to sung paraphrases in verse; at the beginning of the 6th cent. this practice was established in the Byzantine rite and, in later times, the reformational cantata and the gatherings of the contrareformation under Philippus Neri and the historiae or oratoria proceeding from these may be regarded as a historical development. The Byzantine homiletic paraphrases, called Kontakia, consisted of a Proemium and 24–30 strophes (7th, 8th cent.), but during the 8th cent. they were shortened to a Proemium and one strophe in melismatic style. The homiletic character disappeared and was replaced by the melismatic ornamentation of melody. Of the Kontakia in their original form only one complete specimen has come down to us, the akathistos hymn, so called because the congregation had to stand up (a-kathiste) during its performance and were only allowed to sit down during the intervals (kathismata). The akathistos hymn forms part of the liturgy of Lady-day, which was probably instituted as a holiday on March 25, 719, in connection with the unsuccessful siege of Constantinople by the Arabs.

Very likely it is due to the political associations of this holiday that this akathistos hymn has come down to us, albeit in its probably younger, i.e. melismatic form, in a MS for the use of the psaltes or precentor, preserved at Florence (Ashburnhamensis L 64). This is the MS from which Wellesz with his usual accuracy has published the words and the melody of the hymn. His detailed introduction (pp. XIII–LXV) gives full particulars as to the history and the form of both words and melody of the hymn and as to the musical notation of the MS. A striking feature of the words is that the proportionally numbered strophes ('oikoi'), which are much shorter

than those numbered unproportionally, end in a choral refrain on Alleluia, which in the Byzantine rite was also sung in Lent.

An interesting point about the melodies and the notation of the MS are the melismatics of the melodies (of 30 to 40 notes over one syllable, rarely of 50 notes), in which in smaller units of two or three notes the MS shows a repetition of the vowel. This points to the fact that these units will probably not have been sung legato, as in the west e.g. on the final vowel of Alleluia, but with a repeated clear beginning of the vowel. A feature which is even stranger to us, and which also occurs both in the Byzantine and other eastern liturgies, is that when the vowel of the word is repeated in a melism, it is accompanied by the preceding consonant of the syllable and that the vowel is replaced by other vowels, e.g. che–che–oo–ee–ee–z–oo–ee etc. However, in listening to early folkloristic profane music, as provided by ethnomusicology, one finds that this practice is still in existence, e.g. in the mediterranean basin.

Both introduction and transcription of this hymn melody, which in Wellesz's publication covers a hundred pages of print, deserve the gratefulness and the respect of musicology.

Amsterdam, Staalstraat 19 J. SMITS VAN WAESBERGHE

The Hymns of the Pentecostarium, transcribed by H. J. W. Tillyard (Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Transcripta, Vol. VII), Copenhagen, Ejnar Munksgaard, 1960. XXXIV + 174 pp. Pr. Dan.cr. 35.–.

The Hymns of the Hirmologium, Part III 2, transcribed by Aglaïa Ayoutanti, revised and annotated by H. J. W. Tillyard (Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Transcripta, Vol. VIII). *Ibid.* 1956. IX + 95 pp. Pr. Dan.cr. 20.–.

The former of these editions contains a text-critical melodic reproduction of the Pentecostal cycle according to the Byzantine rite, starting at Easter and ending on All Saints' Sunday. The transcriptions are preceded by an introduction (pp. IX–XXXIV), of which especially the chapters 3 ('Derivation of the Byzantine Modes') and 4 ('The earlier musical notations') demand attention. As to the melodies recorded, their style is well-known to us. Still it is not clear to me, why they should be found to show a close correspondence with the melodies of the repertory of plainsong, as an essential feature of the neumatic and melismatic melodies of plainsong, distinguishing them from Milanese, Beneventan and Frankish chant, i.e. the striving after pentatonics with do and fa

as points of support and si and mi as transitional notes to do and fa, is not peculiar to the Byzantine melodies; to point out their difference from plainsong – the alteration of si to sa being left out of consideration – it would be possible to call the Byzantine melodies "perfectly" or "independently" diatonic, as also holds for the melodic idiom of the other types of liturgical music mentioned above.

Of "The Hymns of the Hirmologium" in Part III, 2 the hymns in the third mode are given in modern notation. In contrast to the work discussed above the critical apparatus is placed at the end of the book. In this respect the practice of the 1960 volume is to be preferred. The transcriptions are preceded by a short preface.

Amsterdam, Staalstraat 19 J. SMITS VAN WAESBERGHE

Arne Bugge, *Contacarium Palaeoslavicum Mosquense* (Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Série principale, Facsimilés, Vol. VI). Copenhague, Ejnar Munksgaard, 1960. XXVII +10 pp. + fol. $1^v - 204^r$. Pr. 500 c. Dan.

This is the sixth volume of the MSS published in facsimile by the M. M. B. It concerns a large and beautifully produced Contacarium, completed on July 20, 1207, and intended for the cathedral of Vladimir. When the Kremlin cathedral was consecrated in 1479 the MS was transferred to its keeping and remained there till 1895.

This most carefully written MS is of great interest as it contains hymns which have come down to us only very rarely or not at all. The first part (fol. 1v.–152v.) contains the Kontakarion proper for what in Roman Catholic liturgy has been approximately incorporated in Proprium de Tempore and Proprium Sanctorum; here we find some Kontakia that are not recorded in any other MS. Of musicological interest is also the second part of the MS (fol. 153r.–204r.) containing a variety of hymns, Hypacoai, Troparia, Stichoi and Koinonica.

The over 400 excellent facsimile reproductions are preceded by an introduction which is a model of conciseness and reliability. In it we find treated successively: I. Description of the MS, II. The contents and the character of the MS and of other Russian Kontakaria, III. Musical aspects (Notation, Modes, Intonations etc.), IV. History of the MS.

Considered as a work of scholarship, this publication leaves nothing to be desired, giving us a perfect photographic reproduction of a MS and an introduction containing sober, thorough and all but indispensable information for its study.

Amsterdam, Staalstraat 19 J. SMITS VAN WAESBERGHE

Franz Joseph Dölger. Leben und Werk. Ein Gedenkblatt, herausgegeben von Theodor Klauser (Veröffentlichung des Franz Joseph Dölger-Instituts an der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität in Bonn). Münster, Aschendorff, 1956. 28 S. Pr. geheftet DM 1,50.

Was Franz Joseph Dölger (1873–1940) für die Erforschung des Problems der Entstehung der christianisierten antiken Kultur in einem überaus arbeitsamen Leben zustande gebracht hat, gehört zum festen Bestand der Wissenschaft – es erübrigt sich, hier weiter davon zu reden. Aber gerade wegen Dölgers im Laufe der Jahre immer stärker gewordenen Zurückgezogenheit ist es nicht nur erfreulich, sondern geradezu die Erfüllung eines Bedürfnisses, dass die Nachwelt von seiner Wesensart und Tätigkeit jetzt eine Beschreibung besitzt, die genau gearbeitet ist, wie Dölger selbst in allem genau war. Als Forscher war es ihm immer vor allem um das Erreichen objektiver Sicherheit zu tun; das hat ihn vielfach zur Untersuchung des nur scheinbar Kleinen getrieben, und ihm seitens Rostowzews den Namen eines Antiquars eingetragen. Aber eine solche Beurteilung übersieht die Tatsache, dass jede genaue Einzeluntersuchung, wenn sie verrichtet wird in dem fortwährenden Bewusstsein von der Umgebung und den Beziehungen des jeweiligen Objekts, mehr für das Verständnis einer Epoche beizutragen pflegt als jene zu rasch gezogenen grossen Linien, die in der Vergangenheit die Forschung nicht selten für längere Zeit auf die falsche Fährte geführt haben. Für den Verfasser dieser Zeilen, der das Vorrecht hatte, in den Jahren 1931–1932 dem Dölgerschen Seminar an der Bonner Universität anzugehören, bleibt es unvergesslich, wie Harnacks damals allgemein akzeptierte Beschreibung von Marcions Tätigkeit durch unablässige strenge Einzelinterpretation von Dölger als bis in die Wurzel unrichtig dargetan wurde, und wie ihm einmal auf Grund einer ebenso geistreichen wie rasch bearbeiteten Monographie über Tertullian der Satz entfiel: „Die Herren sollen immer im Auge behalten, dass Tertullian etwas gelehrter war als die Gesamtzahl seiner Kommentatoren."

Theodor Klauser, der Dölger am nächsten gestanden hat, entwirft ein lebhaftes Bild von Dölgers Werdegang, der Eigenart seiner Forschung und seiner nicht immer genügend beachteten Aktivität als akademischer Lehrer. Man kann seiner Darstellung das höchste denkbare Lob erteilen: sie würde Dölger sicher gefallen haben, ebenso wie die ausgezeichnete Bibliographie mit Register.

Ein Wort der Entschuldigung für die späte Erscheinung dieser Rezension ist hier am Platze; dafür kann jetzt hingewiesen werden auf eine zweite kurze Biographie Dölgers von Klausers Hand in den Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Fränkische Geschichte, 7. Reihe, sechster Band (1960), S. 128–137. Die Lektüre dieser

kürzeren Darstellung lohnt sich auch nach dem Lesen des hier angezeigten Lebensbilds, weil Klauser nicht nur einige weiteren biographischen Einzelheiten bringt, sondern seine Beurteilung Dölgers leicht modifiziert, und dadurch m.E. noch etwas richtiger gefasst hat.

Leiden, Witte Singel 91 J. H. WASZINK
(z. Zt. Stanford University)

Romanitas. Revista de cultura Romana. Ano III, vols. 3 e 4. Rio de Janeiro, Romanitas Livraria Editôra Ltda., 1961. Pp. 560. Pr. $ 4.—.

The review *Romanitas* directed by Prof. Vandrick L. da Nóbrega (Rio de Janeiro) bears witness to the active endeavour of its editors, the 'Sociedade Brasileira de Romanistas', to propagate the interest in Roman culture in Brasil.

The volume which we received is dedicated to Professor H. Lévy-Bruhl (Paris), and opens with a list of his publications. The production is beautiful, the contents are rich and varied. However, the numerous and important contributions on Latin language and literature, Roman history and law, nearly all deal with subjects which are beyond the scope of Vigiliae Christianae. So we must restrict ourselves to call attention to the articles by F. Wieacker, *Europa und das römische Recht. Verborgenheit und Fortdauer* (pp. 68/85), and Sílvio A. B. Meira, *A legislaçâo romano do divórcio* (pp. 199/226), and to the review of R. R. Bolgar's book *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge 1958) by W. Medeiros (pp. 493/8).

Mélanges de Science Religieuse. XVIIe année, 1960.

Ce cahier des *Mélanges* dirigés par les professeurs de la Faculté de théologie de Lille contient six articles et nombreux recensions bibliographiques. Nous signalons à l'intéret des lecteurs de cette revue les contributions suivantes: J. Dumortier, *Le sens du péché chez les grecs du Ve siècle* (p. 5/39, suite du vol. 16 (1959), 5/20); R. Herval, *Origines du christianisme en Gaule. La Province ecclésiastique de Rouen aux IVe et Ve siècles* (p. 41/80, suite du vol. 16 (1959), 47/70); J. Michel *Bibliographes et instruments de travail au XVIIe siècle* (p. 131/42).

BOOKS RECEIVED

(The inclusion of a book in this list, which contains all books received by the editors, does not guarantee its subsequent review).

G. Turbessi, Ascetismo e monachesimo prebenedettino (Universale Studium, No. 78). Roma, Editrice Studium, 1961. 218 pp. Pr. L. 300.

Jean Chrysostome, Sur la providence de Dieu. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes de Anne-Marie Malingrey (Sources Chrétiennes, No. 79). Paris, Les Editions du Cerf, 1961. 290 pp. Pr. 19,50 N.F.

Manlio Simonetti, Note su antichi commenti alle Benedizioni dei Patriarchi. Estratto dagli Annali delle Facoltà di Lettere-Filosofia e Magistero, vol. 28, 1960. Università di Cagliari. 72 pp.

Kurt Aland, Die Säuglingstaufe im Neuen Testament und in der alten Kirche. Eine Antwort an Joachim Jeremias (Theologische Existenz Heute, Neue Folge Nr. 86). München, Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1961. 86 pp. Pr. DM 5,40.

Wolfgang Bender, Die Lehre über den Heiligen Geist bei Tertullian (Münchener Theologische Studien, II. Abteilung, 18. Band). XVI, 182 pp. Pr. DM 18.

Philon d'Alexandrie, De agricultura. Introduction, traduction et notes par Jean Pouilloux (Les Œuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie, Tome 9). Paris, Les Editions du Cerf, 1961. 102 pp. Pr. 9,60 N.F.

Philon d'Alexandrie, De praemiis et poenis – De exsecrationibus. Introduction, traduction et notes par A. Beckaert, A. A. (Les Œuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie, Tome 27). Paris, Les Editions du Cerf, 1961. 130 pp. Pr. 12,60 N.F.

Jean Pépin, Les deux approches du Christianisme. Paris, Les Editions de Minuit, [1961]. 286 pp. Pr. 20 N.F.

Kurt Aland, Über den Glaubenswechsel in der Geschichte des Christentums (Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann, 5. Heft). Berlin, Verlag Alfred Töpelmann, 1961. 147 pp. Pr. DM 12.

Ernst Haenchen, Die Botschaft des Thomas-Evangeliums (Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann, 6. Heft). Berlin, Verlag Alfred Töpelmann, 1961. 76 pp.

John Charles Doudna, The Greek of the Gospel of Mark (Journal of Biblical Literature, Monograph Series, Volume XII). Philadelphia, Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, 1961. 139 pp.

Philon d'Alexandrie, Introduction générale par Roger Arnaldez – De opificio mundi. Introduction, traduction et notes par R. Arnaldez (Les Œuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie, Tome 1). Paris, Les Editions du Cerf, 1961. 260 pp. Pr. 15,60 N.F.

Hermann Josef Frede, Pelagius, Der irische Paulustext, Sedulius Scottus (Vetus Latina, Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel, 3). Freiburg, Verlag Herder, 1961. 165 pp. Pr. DM 22,50 (for subscribers DM 19,10).

A. J. H. van Weegen, Preek en dictaat bij Sint Augustinus. Syntactisch-stilistische studie over de Tractatus in Ioannis Evangelium. Nijmegen–Utrecht, Dekker & Van de Vegt, [1961]. 166 pp. Pr. fl. 8,90.

George S. Glanzman, S.J. & Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J., An Introductory Bibliography for the Study of Scripture (Woodstock Papers, No. 5). Westminster, Maryland, The Newman Press, 1961. XIX, 135 pp. Pr. $ 1,50.

Alfred Adam, Antike Berichte über die Essener (Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen, No. 182). Berlin, Verlag Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1961. 63 pp.

Emile de Strycker, S.J., La forme la plus ancienne du Protévangile de Jacques. Recherches sur le Papyrus Bodmer 5 avec une édition critique du texte grec et une traduction annotée (Subsidia Hagiographica. No. 33). Bruxelles, Société des Bollandistes, 1961. x, 480 pp. Pr. Belg. fr. 400.

Boezio, Philosophiae consolatio. Testo con introduzione e traduzione di Emanuele Rapisarda. Università di Catania, Centro di studi sull'antico Christianesimo, 1961. XXXIX, 222 pp. Pr. L. 2500.

Maurice Bévenot, S.J., The Tradition of Manuscripts. A Study in the Transmission of St. Cyprian's Treatises. Oxford, Clarendon Press : Oxford University Press, 1961. IX, 163 pp. Pr. 42/.

Hans Walter Huppenbauer, Der Mensch zwischen zwei Welten. Der Dualismus der Texte von Qumran (Höhle I) und der Damaskusfragmente. Ein Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte des Evangeliums (Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments, 34). Zürich, Zwingli Verlag, 1959. 132 pp. Pr. Sw. fr. 18.

R. P. Hoogma, Der Einfluss Vergils auf die Carmina Latina Epigraphica. Eine Studie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der metrisch-technischen Grundsätze der Entlehnung. Amsterdam, North–Holland Publishing Company, 1959. XXIII, 373 pp.

Henry Chadwick, The Circle and the Ellipse. Rival Concepts of Authority in the Early Church. An Inaugural Lecture delivered before the University of Oxford on 5 May 1959. Oxford, Clarendon Press : Oxford University Press, 1959. 17 pp. Pr. 2/6.

L'ORIGINE DU NOM DES CHRETIENS

PAR

BARUCH LIFSHITZ

C'est à Antioche sur l'Oronte que se produisit vers 40 après J.-Chr. un événement important dans l'histoire de l'Eglise: les disciples de Jésus se donnèrent le nom de Chrétiens. Le récit du chapitre XI, 26 du *Livre des Actes* a été discuté maintes fois. La critique s'est acharnée au problème de la signification du nom et de son origine. R. Paribeni a attribué aux autorités romaines à Antioche l'invention du nom des adeptes de la nouvelle religion [1]: C'est précisément dans les bureaux du gouverneur de la province de Syrie que la nouvelle secte religieuse a été dotée d'une dénomination latine correcte [2].

La thèse de R. Paribeni a été adoptée et développée par E. Peterson [3]. Ce savant va même plus loin que son prédécesseur en précisant que l'identification des disciples par les autorités romaines témoigne non seulement d'un intérêt théorique mais aussi d'un motif politique concret. C'était précisément — dit E. Peterson — un conflit entre les disciples et le gouvernement romain qui a amené ce dernier à prendre les Chrétiens pour un mouvement politique [4]. La thèse d'après laquelle le nom des Chrétiens aurait été créé par les Romains à Antioche n'a pas été reçue favorablement [5] mais tout récemment G. Downey s'est rallié à l'opinion de R. Paribeni — E. Peterson [6]: Le mot (Chrétiens) a été adopté évidemment par les Romains quand ils se sont aperçus qu'il y avait besoin d'une description officielle de la secte et qu'il fallait distinguer celle-ci du Judaïsme. Une telle dénomination eût été nécessaire surtout à Antioche, où il y avait tant de cultes de toutes sortes.

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[1] *Sull' origine del nome Cristiano, Nuovo bulletino di arch. cristiana* XIX (1913), p. 37–41.

[2] R. Paribeni dans *Atti R. Accademia dei Lincei*, 1927, p. 685 cité par E. Peterson, *Miscellanea G. Mercati*, I (1946), p. 362.

[3] *Christianus, Misc. Mercati*, p. 355–372.

[4] E. Peterson, *loc. cit.*, p. 363.

[5] Cf. H. Fuchs, *Vigiliae Christianae* IV (1950), p. 69, note 5.

[6] G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria*, 1961, p. 275 sq.

Nous ne pouvons procéder à la critique détaillée de l'argumentation de Peterson ni ne la jugeons nécessaire et nous nous bornerons aux précisions suivantes. On voit mal les raisons qui pouvaient inciter les Romains à *reconsidérer* leur attitude envers la nouvelle *superstitio* même si à l'époque ils la distinguaient déjà du Judaïsme. Il est d'ailleurs tout à fait incompréhensible que les autorités romaines en Syrie ou en Palestine eussent désigné les adeptes du Christ comme un mouvement politique. On sait qu'un quart de siècle plus tard la religion chrétienne était entièrement ignorée de tous les principaux auteurs latins, bien que à l'époque «l'Oronte est devenu un affluent du Tibre» [7]. Le nom *Christiani* était bien connu à Rome à cette époque mais ce n'était nullement une dénomination officielle d'un groupement *politique* mais un nom employé par la populace: *quos per flagitia invisos vulgus christianos appellabat* [8]. On peut certainement admettre qu'un nom officiel créé par l'administration romaine à Antioche s'est transformé en un sobriquet populaire à Rome, mais on ne comprend guère que le caractère jadis officiel du nom eût échappé à Tacite.

On peut supposer avec une certaine probabilité que pendant le siège de Jérusalem on voyait bien au commandement romain la différence entre les Chrétiens et les Juifs. Sulpice Sévère a sans doute copié dans la partie perdue du livre V des *Histoires* de Tacite quand il a reproduit les opinions de Titus et de ses officiers au sujet du Temple juif: *Alii, et Titus ipse, evertendum templum imprimis censebant, quo plenius Iudaeorum et Christianorum religio tolleretur. Quippe has religiones licet contrarias sibi iisdem tamen auctoribus profectas* [9]. Or, il n'y a aucun doute, ce n'était pas le cas à Antioche à l'époque où Barnabé et Paul prêchaient dans la capitale syrienne. A cette époque le nom *Christianus* n'était pas encore une *appellatio usu communi recepta* [10].

Une autre interprétation du nom des chrétiens a été proposée par

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[7] Juvenal, 3, 62: *Iam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes.*

[8] Tacite, *Annales*, XV, 44, 2.

[9] Sulpice Sévère, *Chron.*,II, 30, 6–8 cf. H. Furneaux, *The Annals of Tacitus*, vol. II, p. 420–421 et note 1.

[10] Ainsi J. A. Bengel, *Gnomon Novi Testamenti*, Tubingae, 1742, p. 464 cité par E. Peterson, p. 357 et note 11.

H. B. Mattingly [11]. Comme R. Paribeni et E. Peterson, lui aussi est d'avis que le nom a été inventé et employé par des païens. Or, les inventeurs n'étaient pas les magistrats romains mais la populace railleuse d'Antioche. Il s'agirait donc d'un sobriquet ayant une signification péjorative. La raison de l'invention était le nombre croissant des Chrétiens et le besoin de les distinguer des Juifs [12]. Mais Mattingly suggère qu'il faut dater l'événement de 60 p. J.C. Il s'appuie sur le récit de l'interrogatoire de Paul par le gouverneur Festus en présence du roi Hérode Agrippa, parce que ce dernier a employé à cette occasion le nom inventé sur l'Oronte [13]. Il conclut en acceptant l'opinion de Peterson que *Christianus* était une dénomination officielle quand Luc écrivait mais à son origine le nom était un sobriquet [14].

Le nom a été composé — nous dit Mattingly — par une analogie de forme du mot *Augustiani*, la clique qui applaudissait Néron pendant ses performances en Italie du Sud et en Grèce. La populace d'Antioche qui se moquait de Néron comme les Alexandrins, s'est vite aperçue que les adeptes de la nouvelle secte qui ne se lassaient jamais de proclamer leur fidélité à un personnage appelé Christus étaient ridicules comme les *Augustiani* [15]. Ces claqueurs du Christ méritaient donc leur nom comme les *Augustiani*, les claqueurs de Néron méritaient le leur.

Ces hypothèses ont de commun qu'elles cherchent l'origine du nom *Christianus* dans un milieu païen, l'une dans la chancellerie du gouverneur romain, l'autre parmi la populace d'Antioche [16].

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[11] *The origin of the name Christiani*, *Journal of Theological Studies*, N.S. IX (1958), pp. 26–37.

[12] Cf. p. 26. L'auteur cite E. Jacquier, *Les Actes des Apôtres*, 1926, p. 351: «Les convertis . . . devinrent si nombreux que l'on fut amené à leur donner un nom pour les distinguer des Juifs». Cf. E. Peterson, p. 355 sq.

[13] *Act. d. Ap.*, 26, 28.

[14] «. . . the name (Christianus) originated as a popular nickname. Once invented . . . it . . . passed . . . into legal use» (p. 28).

[15] «These (les Chrétiens) never wearied of proclaiming allegiance to a person called Christus . . . Were they not ludicrously like Nero's *Augustiani*? Christ had his claque at Antioch» (p. 31).

[16] H. B. Mattingly n'était pas le premier à proposer l'hypothèse du *nick-name*. Sur ces opinions voir E. Peterson, p. 358 et note 14. Mais ce savant a cru aussi que le mot a un certain ton railleur par l'allusion à la

E. Bickerman a vu que le nom a été inventé et employé par le, disciples eux-mêmes [17]. Il a expliqué le sens du verbe *χρηματίζειν* qui est courant dans les papyrus et fréquent dans les inscriptions comme dans les textes littéraires de l'époque hellénistique: «prendre le titre», «s'appeler» [18]. Il faut donc traduire le verset 26 du chapitre XI du *Livre des Actes:* «C'est à Antioche que pour la première fois, les disciples prirent le nom de Chrétiens» [19]. Bickerman a souligné judicieusement que le nouveau nom a été adopté pour bien marquer la communauté des adeptes du Christ. Mais sa supposition que les disciples employaient le même nom grec en araméen en le transcrivant est gratuite. La transcription du mot *Augustiani* en caractères hébreux dans le Talmud ne peut pas servir d'argument. On sait que les Juifs employaient un autre mot pour désigner les Chrétiens [20]. E. Bickerman a pu aussi établir que les Chrétiens ont formé leur nom sur «Christus» c'est-à-dire l'Oint mais il s'est mépris sur la signification de ce terme. Les Chrétiens ne se croyaient nullement serviteurs ni officiers du Roi oint [21].

Deux passages des *Actes* sont — pensons-nous — décisifs pour l'interprétation du nom *Christianus*. Dans le chapitre Ier on nous raconte que les disciples demandaient à Jésus s'il va restaurer *bientôt* le royaume d'Israël [22]: *Οἱ μὲν οὖν συνελθόντες ἠρώτων αὐτὸν λέγοντες· κύριε, εἰ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἀποκαθιστάνεις τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ Ἰσραήλ;* et le Maître répondit [23]: *οὐχ ὑμῶν ἐστιν γνῶναι χρόνους*

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mort du Christ sur la croix (p. 302). Il va sans dire que, si l'on admet le sens moqueur du nom des Chrétiens, il n'y a nul besoin de pousser l'analogie avec les Augustiani et d'insister sur le caractère messianique du christianisme et du culte de l'empereur comme le fait H. B. Mattingly (p. 29).

17 *The Name of Christians, Harvard Theological Review*, 42 (1949), p. 109–124 cf. J. Moreau, *Le Nom des Chrétiens, La Nouvelle Clio*, I/II (1949–1950), p. 190–192.

18 E. Bickerman, *loc. cit.*, p. 109–116 cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica*, XI-XII, p. 454–455.

19 J. Moreau, *loc. cit.*, p. 191.

20 Voir ci-dessous, p. 70.

21 E. Bickerman, *loc. cit.*, p. 119–123. Il n'est pas exact que le mot *Messie* comme *terme technique* n'apparaisse qu'en traduction grecque *Χριστός* (p. 119), v. *Daniel*, 9, 25.

22 *Act. d. Ap.*, 1, 6.

23 *Ibid.*, 1, 7–8.

ἢ καιροὺς οὓς ὁ πατὴρ ἔθετο ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ, ἀλλὰ λήμψεσθε δύναμιν ἐπελθόντος τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἔσεσθέ μου μάρτυρες ἔν τε Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ καὶ Σαμαρίᾳ καὶ ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς. La vraie signification de ce passage est le renoncement au messianisme politique [24]. Le Christ Crucifié n'est pas pour les disciples le Messie vainqueur et restaurateur du Royaume d'Israël, mais le Sauveur du genre humain. La question de la Restauration du Royaume terrestre ne doit plus les intéresser. Il doivent prêcher Sa Vérité à Jérusalem, dans toute la Judée et Samarie mais aussi dans le monde entier.

Le chapitre 26 du *Livre des Actes* contient le récit de l'interrogatoire de Paul. Il énonce les principes de la nouvelle réligion: "*. . . ἑστηκα μαρτυρόμενος μικρῷ τε καὶ μεγάλῳ, οὐδὲν ἐκτὸς λέγων ὧν τε οἱ προφῆται ἐλάλησαν μελλόντων γίνεσθαι καὶ Μωϋσῆς, εἰ παθητὸς ὁ Χριστός, εἰ πρῶτος ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν φῶς μέλλει καταγγέλλειν τῷ τε λαῷ καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.* C'est en réponse à cette déclaration et certainement par allusion aux mots *παθητὸς ὁ Χριστός* que le roi Agrippa interrompt Paul en disant: *ἐν ὀλίγῳ με πείθεις Χριστιανὸν ποιῆσαι.* Les deux passages cités attestent le vrai sens du nom *Χριστιανός* — Chrétien, c'est l'adepte du Christ Crucifié — *παθητὸς ὁ Χριστός* — du Rédempteur du Monde qui a sauvé le genre humain par Sa mort sur la croix. Il n'y a nullement de mépris dans l'emploi du mot par Agrippa ni aucune allusion à une attitude semblable dans la phrase de Pierre [25]: *εἰ δὲ ὡς Χριστιανός (πάσχει), μὴ αἰσχυνέσθω.* La crucifixion était aux yeux des Romains la mort la plus méprisable. Elle n'est pas digne de mépris — il est dit dans la lettre de Pierre — quand on la subit *ὡς Χριστιανός.*

Par suite de la mission de Paul et Barnabé à Antioche les convertis juifs et surtout les gentils devinrent nombreux et la jeune communauté ne voulait ni ne pouvait plus être regardée comme une secte juive. Ce changement profond de la structure de la communauté chrétienne d'Antioche était l'œuvre de Paul et Barnabé et il est naturel que le nouveau nom fût inventé précisément dans cette ville où pour la première fois on prêchait la nouvelle religion

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[24] Cf. J. Klausner, *Von Jesus zu Paulus*, 1950, p. 207.

[25] I Petr., 4, 16.

aux gentils [26]. On ne pouvait pas — cela va de soi — demander aux gentils convertis l'observance stricte de la Loi; c'était la ligne de conduite de Paul. A cette époque la nouvelle religion a reçu un nouveau nom qui la distinguait de la religion-mère.

Les Juifs avaient leur dénomination pour marquer les adeptes de Jésus, elle fût composée sur le nom de Sa ville natale. Elle apparaît également en grec [27], et elle s'est conservée dans la langue hébraïque et arabe. La raison en est simple, les Juifs de Palestine ne connaissaient que des Chrétiens-Juifs disciples du Nazaréen. Or les gentils convertis au Christianisme à Antioche ne connaissaient ni cette ville ni la vie réelle et historique du Maître. C'est le messianisme du Christ, Son rôle de Sauveur qui était pour ces Chrétiens l'essentiel. Il s'agissait, bien entendu, du messianisme nouveau, non de celui cher aux Juifs. Ils commençaient donc à s'appeler *Χριστιανοί* — Meŝihayye en syrien [28] en proclamant par leur nom qu'ils se distinguaient des païens mais aussi des Juifs par la croyance au Messie qui est déjà venu, et, qui plus est, cette croyance était l'essentiel de leur religion [29]. Le nouveau nom était employé par les Chrétiens de souche grecque ou hellénisés; nous avons vu qu'il pénétra assez tôt dans la langue latine. Les Juifs palestiniens ne l'employaient pas, ils avaient pour les Chrétiens une autre dénomination. La supposition d'une transcription araméenne du terme *Christiani* est superflue et gratuite [30].

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[26] *Act. d. Ap.*, 11, 20 cf. J. Klausner, *op. cit.*, p. 321 sq.

[27] *Act. d. Ap.*, 24, 5: *Ναζωραίων αἱρεσις*. D'après la Souda les Juifs avaient aussi un autre nom: *Γαλιλαῖοι*. Ce nom fut imposé de nouveau par l'empereur Julien. Cf. H. Furneaux, *op. cit.*, II, 419 et note 4.

[28] Cf. E. Peterson, *loc. cit.*, p. 369 sq., note 53. Le mot n'apparaît ni dans la *Mishna* ni dans le *Talmud*.

[29] J. Klausner, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

[30] Cf. ci-dessus p. 68. L'emploi du nom n'est pas fréquent dans les sources provenant du Ier siècle. On a pensé que les Chrétiens évitaient à l'époque de se servir du nom. Cf. E. Bickerman, *Rev. Bibl.*, 1938, p. 195, qui croyait qu'il leur fut donné par les païens.

„STONE" AND „WOOD" IN OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRUS I

BY

A. F. WALLS

Whatever the relationship between Oxyrhynchus Papyri 1, 654, 655 on the one hand, and the Coptic text of the Gospel of Thomas on the other, it seems clear that the latter represents a different, and probably more Gnostic, recension of the material, and not a simple translation of the Greek of the fragments; and thus that independent exegesis of each recension is necessary.[1]

This has been particularly recognised for the fifth saying of O.P. 1 and its parallels, since the two members of the Oxyrhynchus logion are found in different contexts in Thomas.

The Greek, very uncertain in its first member, reads[2]

[λέγ]ει [Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς· ὅπ]ου ἐὰν ὦσιν [β', οὔκ] ε[ἰσι]ν ἄθεοι· καὶ [ὅ]που ε[ἷς] ἐστιν μόνος, [λέ]γω ἐγώ εἰμι μετ' αὐτ[οῦ]. ἔγει[ρ]ον τὸν λίθο(ν), κἀκεῖ εὑρήσεις με, σχίσον τὸ ξύλον, κἀγὼ ἐκεῖ εἰμι.

In Thomas we have

> Jesus said: Where there are three gods, they are gods; where there are two or one, I am with him. (Log. 30).[3]
>
> Jesus said: I am the light that is above them all, I am the All, the All came forth from Me and the All attained to Me. Cleave a (piece of) wood, I am there; lift up the stone and you will find Me there. (Log. 77).

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[1] Cf. H.-C. Puech in Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen* I, 1959, pp. 199 ff.; R. McL. Wilson, *Studies in the Gospel of Thomas*, 1960, pp. 9 ff.

[2] The text is that of H. G. Evelyn White, *The sayings of Jesus from Oxyrhynchus*, 1920, p. 35, who adopts the restoration of Blass for the first member. Even if the Coptic Thomas has reduced confidence in this brilliant conjecture (cf. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 121) there is no major uncertainty about the second member, which is our main concern here.

[3] The enumeration and translation of the Coptic Thomas is always that of A. Guillaumont, H.-C. Puech, G. Quispel, W. Till and Yassah 'Abd al Masih, *The Gospel according to Thomas*, 1959.

Interpreters of Thomas commonly, and doubtless rightly, read the last saying in a pantheistic, or, more strictly, a "panchristic" Gnostic sense [4]: Christ the light, the All, the source and end of all, indwells the All: He is to be found under every stone and in every tree. Even when only the Oxyrhynchus version of the saying was extant, this interpretation was not infrequently adopted.[5] In the Oxyrhynchus version, however, the context is less obviously in favour of it. The pronouncement beginning "I am the light' is absent, and the first member of the logion (corresponding to Thomas log. 30) implies the ubiquity of Christ only in the sense of Mt. xviii. 20 and xxviii. 19. Shorn of this support from context, a "panchristic" meaning in the words is by no means obvious [6]; for why should the presence be found under the stone, and not in it, as with the wood? Moreover, on the panchristic interpretation, *εὑρήσεις* would be meaningless; whereas, following as it does the two imperatives, it looks uncommonly like a promise to be fulfilled, with all the solemnity of the "finding" in the first saying of O.P. 654 [7].

Another line of interpretation, associated particularly with Harnack and recently given new force by Jeremias, has achieved much popularity. Briefly, this sees the raising of the stone and the cleaving of the wood as symbolic of manual occupations, and the

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[4] B. Gärtner, *The Theology of the Gospel of Thomas*, ET 1961, pp. 144 ff.; R. Kasser, *L'Evangile selon Thomas*, 1960, p. 99.

[5] Cf. the discussions in C. Taylor, *The Oxyrhynchus Logia and the Apocryphal Gospels*, 1899, and White, *op. cit.*, pp. 38 ff.

[6] Kasser, *loc. cit.*, holds that the "signification panthéiste" would be evident in any setting. Cf. A. J. B. Higgins, Non-Gnostic Sayings in the Gospel of Thomas, *Novum Testamentum* IV, 1960, p. 302, where it is held that the meaning is not drastically different in the two contexts. Dr Higgins, however, does not closely define the meaning in a pantheistic sense.

[7] Corresponding to Thomas, Logion 2. Cf. J. Jeremias, *Unknown Sayings of Jesus*, ET 1957, p. 96, who points to "the twice repeated use of the imperative in place of a protasis with the apodosis added in parataxis" as one of the marked Semitic features of the language.

The same consideration would militate against the view that the wood and stone figure the Cross and Tomb. This view, put forward long ago for the Greek fragments (cf. White, p. 39), has been revived for Thomas by M. J. Doresse, *L'Evangile selon Thomas*, 1959, pp. 188 f.

whole as a benediction on honest toil: perhaps even a deliberate inversion of Eccles. x. 9.[8]

So direct and practical an application is somewhat incongruous with the rarified "spiritual" atmosphere of the Gospel of Thomas; and even in the more restricted range of the Greek fragments it keeps strange company. Jeremias has urged that the linguistic features of the saying point to its being Palestinian and "very primitive": but the truth of this judgment need not demand that the compiler of the Oxyrhynchus collection, any more than Thomas, found the "primitive" meaning in the saying. For him, if not for the original saying, it may be permissible to consider another line of approach.

Might it be that "raising the stone" and "cleaving the wood" indicate not so much representative arduous manual tasks as the setting up of an altar? Jeremias notes that *ἔγειρον τὸν λίθον* may reflect the phrase הקם אבן, but the very instances which he mentions relate to the construction of pillars of witness, in at least one case closely associated with the altar of sacrifice.[9] *Ἐγείρειν* is used also of the raising of temples[10], and *σχίζειν* is used for the preparation of the wood of sacrifice[11]. A clear sense and a natural sequence from the first member of the logion is thus established: Jesus is present even with the solitary: let His worshipper prepare altar and sacrifice and expect to meet Him there.

There is, of course, no suggestion of a literal sacrifice[12]. The spiritual sacrifice, spoken of as early as Psa. 1. 12 ff., is too much of a commonplace in early Christian literature to require illustration.

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[8] A. Harnack, *Expositor* V. vi, pp. 321 ff.; J. Jeremias, *op. cit.*, pp. 94 ff. In the English-speaking world this view has even found expression in a popular hymn (by Henry Van Dyke):

They who tread the path of labour follow where My feet have trod;
They who work without complaining do the holy will of God:
Nevermore thou needest seek Me; I am with thee everywhere;
Raise the stone, and thou shalt find Me; cleave the wood and I am there.

[9] Deut. xxvii. 2, 4; Josh. iv. 9, xxiv. 26.

[10] Jn. ii. 19 ff., Josephus *Ant.* XV. 391, XX. 228.

[11] Gen. xxii. 3, 1 Kgs. vi. 14 LXX.

[12] Apparently an interpretation of the Oxyrhynchus logion in term of sacrifice was early proposed, but soon rejected as involving an obsolete ritual and ignoring the context (White, p. 39).

One context where it occurs, however, is of such interest for this discussion that it deserves quotation in extenso.

In his *Epistle to Flora* the Valentinian Ptolemaeus makes his threefold division of the Law into that of divine origin, that of Mosaic origin, and the tradition of the elders. But the first class is likewise divided into three parts, and of the third part he says

> "Then there is the third part of it, which is typical, in the likeness of spiritual and more excellent things, namely the laws of sacrifice and circumcision and Sabbath and fasting and Passover and unleavened bread, and legislation on such matters. All these things, being images and symbols, were transformed when the truth was made manifest. The material performance according to appearance was taken away, but revealed according to the spiritual – the names remained the same but the deeds were different. *For the Saviour commanded us to offer sacrifices, but not of irrational animals or incense but of spiritual praises and gloryings and thanksgiving*, and through fellowship and beneficence toward neighbours. And he wants us to be circumcised, not by the material circumcision of the foreskin, but by the spiritual circumcision of the heart; and to keep the Sabbath, for he wants us to keep away from evil deeds; and to fast, but he wants us not to keep a bodily fast but a spiritual, one in which there is the avoidance of all bad things." [13]

Now reference to the spiritual fast and Sabbath occurs in the Oxyrhynchus logia [14]:

> *ἐὰν μὴ νηστεύσητε τὸν κόσμον, οὐ μὴ εὕρητε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ ἐὰν μὴ σαββατίσητε τὸ σάββατον, οὐκ ὄψεσθε τὸν πατέρα.*

and in substantially the same form in the Coptic Thomas:

> "Jesus said: If you fast not from the world, you will not

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[13] Epiphanius *Haer.* xxxiii. 5. The translation is that of R. M. Grant, *Second Century Christianity*, 1946, p. 34.

[14] White, p. 26. Cf. G. Quispel, *Ptolemée: Lettre à Flora* (Sources Chrétiennes), n.d., p. 91: "J'ignore si on a déjà établi un lien entre le passage de notre lettre et le texte des *Logia Jesu*".

find the Kingdom; if you keep not the Sabbath as Sabbath, you will not see the Father." [15]

Thomas also has a logion about spiritual circumcision (though whether the Oxyrhynchus collection had this saying is, of course, beyond demonstration):

"His disciples said to Him: Is circumcision profitable or not? He said to them: If it were profitable, their father would beget them circumcised from their mother. But the true circumcision in Spirit has become profitable in every way." [16]

It would, therefore, be quite appropriate to have in the collection a reference to that other ordinance which, says Ptolemaeus, is "in the likeness of spiritual and more excellent things", that is, sacrifice. It is worth notice that Ptolemaeus says, "The Saviour commanded us to offer sacrifices . . ." The canonical Gospels, of course, contain no such specific command. Ptolemaeus is thus either making a generalized statement, or, as Professor Quispel has suggested, he is drawing upon an apocryphon.[17] Is it impossible that the Valentinian theologian has in mind the tradition embodied in the Oxyrhynchus logia and in Thomas?

Finally, may the question be raised whether at some stage the imperatives "raise the stone — cleave the wood" were referred to some particular Gnostic cult-act? There may be a hint of this in the Greek Infancy Gospel of Thomas. The child Jesus heals a man who has accidentally split his foot while chopping wood. In one form of the text Jesus says to the man:

Arise, cleave the wood *(σχίζε τὰ ξύλα)* and remember me.[18] This could be interpreted as a prosaic order to return to work [19]; but, like other dicta of the child Jesus in this Gospel, it has the appearance of a formula, and its correspondence in form with the Oxyrhyn-

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[15] Log. 27.

[16] Log. 53.

[17] *Op. cit.*, pp. 90 f.

[18] C. Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*[2], 1876, pp. 150 f.; (A text X. 2).

[19] Cf. White, p. 40: "If there is a real connection between the two (sc. O.P. 1 and the Infancy Gospel) it is obviously through one or more links which we cannot recover."

chus saying may not be coincidental. Nor is this impression destroyed in the alternative form of the Greek Infancy Gospel:

> Arise, cleave thy wood. And he arose and worshipped Him, giving thanks, and cleft the wood.[20]

Raising the stone, cleaving the wood, the Gnostic offers true worship and thanksgiving. He alone knows how to offer the true, spiritual sacrifice: and, when he does so, Jesus is there.

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[20] Tischendorf, p. 162 (B text IX. 3).

GIUSTINO, APOL. I, 2, 4

DI

L. ALFONSI

San Giustino all'inizio della cosiddetta I Apologia, nell'invitare *τοὺς κατὰ αλήθειαν εὐσεβεῖς καὶ φιλοσόφους* (I, 2) ad amare la verità *παραιτουμένους δόξαις παλαιῶν ἐξακολουθεῖν, ἂν φαῦλαι ὦσιν*, lancia in faccia anche all'onnipotenza dei Cesari la magnanima sfida [1]: *ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ πρὸς οὐδενὸς πείσεσθαί τι κακὸν δύνασθαι λελογίσμεθα, ἢν μὴ κακίας ἐργάται ἐλεγχώμεθα ἢ πονηροὶ διεγνώσμεθα· ὑμεῖς δ' ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν δύνασθε, βλάψαι δ' οὔ* (cfr. 45, 6).

Già il Rauschen [2] ha rilevato gli echi platonici, dall'*Apol.* 28 B e ss. di questo capitolo, che ben si inquadrano con la simpatia che per Socrate manifesta, come è noto, Giustino e non lui solo tra gli apologisti greci [3]. Particolarmente interessante Apol. 30 C-D *εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, ἐὰν ἐμὲ ἀποκτείνητε τοιοῦτον ὄντα . . . οὐκ ἐμὲ μείζω βλάψετε ἢ ὑμᾶς αὐτούς· ἐμὲ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἂν βλάψειεν οὔτε Μέλητος οὔτε Ἄνυτος· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν δύναιτο· οὐ γὰρ οἶομαι θεμιτὸν εἶναι ἀμείνονι ἀνδρὶ ὑπὸ χείρονος βλάπτεσθαι. Ἀποκτείνειε μέντ' ἂν ἴσως ἢ ἐξελάσειεν ἢ ἀτιμάσειεν . . .*

E ciò è stato rilevato anche con ulteriori confronti (si veda C. ANDRESEN, *Justin und der mittlere Platonismus*, in "Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft" Band 44, Heft 3/4 p. 157 n. 3 specialmente col ricordo di "Plutarch, *de tranq. animi* 17 (475 E); Fragm. aus De amore bei Stob. ecl. II, 161 Wachsm.;

[1] Si veda S. Giustino Martire, *Le Apologie*, Introduzione e traduzione di I. Giordani, Firenze 1929, p. 73 (cfr. anche *Apol.* I, 45, 6).

[2] S. Iustini, *Apologiae duae*, ed. G. Rauschen, Bonnae 1911, pp. 10–11 n. 2 e n. 3; ed ancora fondamentale M. Pellegrino, *Gli Apologeti greci del II secolo*, Roma 1947, p. 45, p. 60 e ss., e specialmente, proprio per il passo citato p. 66; e nel commento dell' Otto, *Iustini Opera*, Tomi I Pars I, Jena 1876³, pp. 8–9 *ad loc.*

[3] Si veda tra gli altri A. Harnack, *Sokrates und die alte Kirche*, Giessen 1901, pp. 9–11; J. Geffcken, *Sokrates und das alte Christentum*, Heidelberg 1908, pp. 17–19, e particolarmente G. Melinossi, *Socrate nella tradizione cristiana dei primi secoli*, in "Didaskaleion" 1930, pp. 125–176; e specialmente p. 142, p. 155, p. 166, pp. 169–70; Pellegrino, *op. cit.* p. 65 e ss.

Epiktet, Diss. I, 29, 18; II, 2, 15; III 23, 21; Enchir. 53, 4; ferner Clem. Alex. Strom. IV, 80, 1 ff."). Ma c'é di più, che non sembra in generale osservato: ed è che da Cassio Dione sappiamo come Trasea Peto *τοῦτο ἀεὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔλεγεν* (4)· *ἐμὲ Νέρων ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν δύναται, βλάψαι δὲ οὔ* (cfr. 61, 15, 4 e cfr. Epitteto che fa parlare Socrate: *ἐμὲ δ' Ἄνυτος καὶ Μέλητος ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν δύναται, βλάψαι δ' οὔ*, l.c. – cfr. anche M. POHLENZ, *Die Stoa*, vol. I, Göttingen 1948, p. 408; vol. II, Göttingen 1949, p. 196 con riferimento a "S. 408 Z. 5" proprio con i nostri passi).

Quindi la frase platonica, con cui Socrate esprimeva l'assoluta sicurezza sua di non poter essere danneggiato dagli accusatori e dal tribunale di Atene, anche se ucciso, era diventata espressione simbolica dell'indipendenza spirituale del saggio, del filosofo, di fronte al tiranno, al potere imperiale. Ed in questo processo di adattamento del significato la scuola stoica e ancor meglio l'atteggiamento degli stoici dell'epoca imperiale era stato determinante. Giustino quindi prese sì da Platone l'espressione, ma già colorita come *τόπος* particolare: segno anche questo della sua conoscenza dello Stoicismo [5] – pure studiata; ed insieme sottile riferimento a se stesso, filosofo cristiano, di fronte allo Stato, della dichiarazione di libertà del filosofo pagano, quasi partecipe con gli altri a pari diritto della grande tradizione socratica [6].

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[4] Si veda fondamentale A. Ronconi, *Exitus illustrium virorum*, in "St. it. di fil. cl." 1940, pp. 3–32 ma specialmente pp. 11–12 e p. 16 (ora in "Da Lucrezio a Tacito", Messina 1950, pp. 211 ss., e particolarmente p. 222). Inoltre si cfr. J. Geffcken, *Die christlichen Martyrien*, in "Hermes" XLV (1910), pp. 481–505, e specialmente pp. 493–50 sul tema "der Philosoph vor Gericht" o "der Philosoph vor dem weltlichen Richterstuhl".

[5] Pellegrino, *op. cit.* pp. 60–4; M. Spanneut, *Le Stoïcisme des Pères de l'Eglise*, Paris 1957, pp. 135–6 e p. 243; inoltre si ricordi il vecchio saggio di G. Bardy, *Saint Justin et la philosophie stoïcienne*, in "Recherches de science religieuse" 1923, pp. 491–510 e 1924, pp. 33–45.

[6] Ed in questa nostra posizione ammettiamo la conoscenza platonica diretta dell' Apologia da parte di Giustino, ma per così dire filtrata, integrata ed arricchita dai valori e dall' esperienza anche umana dello stoicismo romano d'età imperiale: affermando ciò non siamo ovviamente d'accordo con J. Geffcken, *Zwei griechische Apologeten*, Leipzig und Berlin 1907, p. 103 e n. 4: "auch die Zitate aus Platon machen keinen Eindruck eigner Lektüre".

THE EXEGESIS OF TIMAEUS 28 C

BY

A. D. NOCK

TO ANDRÉ-JEAN FESTUGIÈRE O.P.

1. "As for the Maker and Father of this universe, to discover him is a task indeed, and when one has discovered him it is not possible to tell of him unto all men".

This saying is often quoted or echoed by pagan, Jewish and Christian writers, with variations. Lactantius presents a notable one (*Inst.* I 8. 1), *unius dei . . . cuius vim maiestatemque tantam esse dicit in Timaeo Plato, ut eam neque mente concipere neque verbis enarrare quisquam possit ob nimiam et inaestimabilem potestatem.* Plato had described the discovering of God as difficult; he is here made to describe it as impossible. Antonie Wlosok, in her learned and original *Laktanz und die philosophische Gnosis* [1], has recently argued (202, 226, 252 ff.) that this modification comes from a Gnostic Platonism "in den hermetische Spekulationen eingedrungen sind".

She is certainly right in emphasizing the place which Hermetic writings occupied in the thought of Lactantius. Yet I think that on this point we cannot follow her. In *De ira* 11. 11. Lactantius does indeed say *unus est igitur princeps et origo rerum deus, sicut Plato in Timaeo et sensit et docuit; cuius maiestatem tantam esse declarat, ut nec mente conprehendi nec lingua exprimi possit. idem testatur Hermes.* Earlier in the chapter we read (§ 6) *omnem igitur divinam potestatem necesse est in uno esse cuius nutu et imperio regantur omnia, et ideo tantus est ut ab homine non possit aut verbis enarrari aut sensibus aestimari*, and later (§ 13) *apud Xenophontem Socrates disputans ait formam dei non oportere conquiri, et Plato in Legum libris, quid omnino sit deus non esse quaerendum, quia nec inveniri possit nec enarrari.* Nevertheless, the vital issue was

[1] *Abh. Heidelberger Ak. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl.* 1960, ii. Cf. my forthcoming review in *J. Theol. St.*

monotheism, and *idem testatur* must, I think, refer to *unus est igitur princeps et origo rerum deus* and not to the specific detail of what Plato is quoted as saying.

Furthermore, we have an explicit citation in *Epit.* 4.4 f., *Hermes... huius ad filium scribentis exordium tale est: deum quidem intellegere difficile est, eloqui vero impossibile, etiam cui intellegere possibile est; perfectum enim ab inperfecto, invisibile a visibili non potest conprehendi*, and the text is assured by quotations in other writers. Here, in spite of variations in phrasing, Plato's meaning is followed by Hermes. The next words may suggest the supposedly "Gnostic" exaggeration, but the sequel, as preserved by Stobaeus, deals with the incapacity of the senses to perceive the incorporeal; the tongue can tell (only) of what is visible. The conclusion, as restored to sense by Theiler's brilliant punctuation, represents the interlocutor as attaining understanding: "what cannot be told forth, that is God" [2]. This does after all keep to the thinking of the *Timaeus* and fits other Hermetic utterances; cf. from one of the unpublished Coptic texts, "I have seen that speech is impotent to reveal these things, for the entire Ogdoad, my son, and the soul that is in it, and the angels, sing the hymn in silence" (J. Doresse, *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics*, 1960, 243 f.). W. does indeed cite also *Epit.* 37.4, *Plato ... fortasse in hoc Trismegistum secutus*, followed by a Hermetic quotation the Greek of which, as given in *Inst.* IV 6.4, echoes *Tim.* 37 C, but this is simply the original of *Asclep.* 8, and the agreements do not bear on the interpretation of *Tim.* 28 C.

2. W. makes much of Apul. *D. Socrat.* 3:

> cum Plato ... frequentissime praedicet hunc solum maiestatis incredibili quadam nimietate et ineffabili non posse penuria sermonis humani quavis oratione vel modice comprehendi, vix sapientibus vixis, cum se vigore animi, quantum licuit, a corpore removerunt, intellectum huius dei, id quoque interdum, velut in artissimis tenebris rapidissimo coruscamine lumen candidum intermicare.

The emotional tone of this passage is akin to that of the quotation

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[2] *Exc.* 1, (iii. 2 f. F.), *ὃ ἐξειπεῖν ἀδύνατον, τοῦτό ἐστιν ὁ θεός*. On perception cf. W. Schmid, *Festschrift Regenbogen*, 174 f.

from Lactantius from which we started: it must, to be sure, be noted that Apuleius does not formally state that God is beyond the reach of the intellect, but he approaches this when he speaks of comprehension as coming to a few, and to them only in rare moments of illumination by grace[3].

W. is probably right in finding here *(velut . . . intermicare)* the influence of *Ep.* VII, p. 341 C (cf. indeed also 344 B), another text from the Platonic Corpus which reverberated in men's minds[4]. She points to the juxtaposition of this passage and *Tim.* 28 C in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* V 77 f. (2,377 St.), to which we must return. It may be noted that Proclus in discussing *Tim.* 28 C (1,303 D.) refers to the Letter, which could indeed suggest a way in which man might "find" the Creator. We may note that, whereas the Letter spoke of "it" (i.e. the essence of Plato's thought) as not admitting of verbal expression but being brought to birth in the soul on a sudden as light kindled from a leaping spark, Celsus (*ap.* Orig. *Cels.* VI 3) applies the statement to the First Good.

But I do not see the relevance of *Met.* XI 23.7 *nocte media vidi solem candido coruscantem lumine*, and I cannot agree that (226)

> Man kann sich keinen klareren Beleg für die gnostische Auslegung dieser Timaiosstelle in der platonistischen Spekulation des 2. nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts wünschen. Es ist das älteste Zeugnis für die Ausrichtung des afrikanischen Platonismus, und die Parallele aus der Isisweihe stellt seine mystisch-religiöse Färbung ins rechte Licht.

As M. P. Nilsson says (*Gesch. gr. Rel.*, ed. 2, II, 635), it was an old Greek idea that initiates see the sun in the underworld: there

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[3] Cf. perhaps vv. 23 f. of the oracle quoted by Porph. *V. Plot.* 22, and *V. Plot.* 23 on visions of the God who is without shape or form, who is above intellect and the intelligible, and on union with the God who is over all; P. Courcelle, *Recherches sur les Confessions de Saint Augustin*, 157 ff.

In *De Platone* I 5 we find the Greek of *Tim* 28 C quoted, with some freedom and perhaps at second hand (R. E. Witt, *Albinus*, 99); here the finding of God is difficult, not impossible. But I do not press this, since the authorship of the work has been brought in question: cf. J. Redfors, *Echtheitskritische Untersuchung der apuleischen Schriften De Platone und De mundo* (Lund, 1960), with J. E. Rexine's review, *Cl. Phil.* LVII (1962), 40 f.

[4] Cf. H. Dörrie, *Entretiens Fond. Hardt* V 194 f.

is no hint that Lucius received spiritual enlightenment, such as the white robe of Osiris (not the coloured robe of Isis) suggested to Plut. *Is. Os.* 77 p. 382 D [5]. *Coruscamine, coruscantem* in the two passages of Apuleius seem to me to have no inner connection. Furthermore, if Apuleius had been acquainted with Hermetic writings, could he have denied himself the pleasure of referring to them? [6]

3. Another passage which W. brings into the discussion is Philo, *Abr.* 57 ff. The sight of the eyes, says Philo, is the most excellent of all the senses, and the sight of the mind is superior to the other faculties of the mind; but the height of happiness is not only to apprehend by knowledge all else that nature comprises but also to see the Father and Maker of all. There is nothing higher than God and whosoever has stretched the eyesight of the soul to reach him must pray that he may there abide and stand firm.

That Philo has *Tim.* 28 in mind is likely enough. In fact, in 59 *ὅταν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ δυνάμεων ἀνακρεμάσας τὴν ψυχὴν ὁ θεός*, "when God sets the soul suspended to his potencies" [7], is a clear echo of *Tim.* 90 A, *ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ, ὅθεν ἡ πρώτη τῆς ψυχῆς γένεσις ἔφυ, τὸ θεῖον τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ ῥίζάν ἡμῶν ἀνακρεμαντὺν ὀρθοῖ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα.* But surely the *Timaeus* echoes are subsidiary and serve only to enhance the glorious privilege of Israel as "seeing God" (57). None of the other passages in which Philo dwells on this idea [8], as listed by H. Leisegang, *Der Heilige Geist* I, 224 and R. Marcus, *Philo, Supp.* II 291 s.v. Israel, shows any reminiscence of *Tim.* In fact, the idea of seeing God seems to run completely counter to the "Gnostic" interpretation of 28 C. Out of old texts and a supposed etymology of the name Israel Philo has drawn a personal faith — and it is a faith, not a scheme or a philosophy.

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[5] Interpretation such as Plutarch gives comes from the study, not from the sanctuary: cf. *Gnomon* XIII, 1937, 157. — On the vision of the sun in *Met.* cf. Reitzenstein, *Hell. Myst.-Rel.* 220 f.

[6] Cf. the gusto with which he enumerates illustrious precedents for the practice of magic (*Apol.* 25 ff., 90).

[7] As constantly when quoting Philo, I am indebted to F. H. Colson's admirable version.

[8] On the importance of this idea to Philo cf. Kenneth E. Kirk, *The Vision of God,* 39 ff.

4. We must, I think, disagree again when W. says (255) of *Strom.* V 78 (2, 377 St.) "Clemens assoziert mit Tim. 28 C also wie Philo die pneumatische Gottesschau". Clement has been quoting insights of pagan philosophy which accord with the pronouncements of revealed religion. In V 77 he cites *Ep.* VII, p. 341 C, on the kindling of light in the soul etc., as parallel to the Apocalypse of Zephaniah [9], and then in 78 he cites *Tim.* 28 C, with a phrase from the same passage of *Ep.* VII added to it, as a parallel to the fact that Moses forbade the People to come with him up the mountain; the statement that Moses entered the darkness where God was means that God cannot be seen or described (cf. 72, p. 374. 21 f.), and darkness is the unbelief and ignorance of the many. In other words, the connotation of *Tim.* 28 C is for Clement not the experience of Moses but the fact that it could not be shared by the multitude.

5. Let us now pass to three more general considerations.

Firstly, the Hermetic writings have their own accent, their own atmosphere; thoughts of whatever origin, Platonic, Stoic, or Jewish, appear as revelation. But it is never necessary, and perhaps never plausible to suppose that these thoughts have any measure of originality. H. Dörrie, *GGA* 1955, 231 says well, "Fast für jeden Satz und für jede gedankliche Wendung lassen sich – zumindest für das Motiv – Vorstufen im Denken der Stoa und des Platonismus, des Peripatos und der Pythagoreer finden", and proceeds to emphasize rightly that there can be no thought of deriving Hermetism "aus dem Mysterienwesen der orientalischen Religionen" [10].

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[9] On this text cf. Gershom G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 18 f.

[10] Dörrie, *ibid.* 233, speaks of Neoplatonism as accepting Hermetic *Lehrgut.* Yet the extreme paucity of specific pagan references to philosophical Hermetica is noteworthy (*J. Rom. St.* XXX, 1940, 192): it is in the assumed character of an Egyptian priest that Iamblichus refers to them. We have earlier Tertullian, *Anim.* 28. 1, *vetus sermo apud memoriam Platonis de animarum reciproco discursu ... Pythagoricus, ut volunt quidam; divinum Albinus existimat, Mercurii forsitan Aegyptii.* Here Albinus may well be showing knowledge of philosophical Hermetica, or at least of their existence. Later Julian 131 D is thought by W. Scott (*Hermetica* III 301) to be echoing Herm. *Exc.* I rather than *Tim.* 28 C, but the agreement in using φράσαι ἀδύνατον may be a coincidence.

On Hermetism note Theiler's good term (*Entr. Hardt.* III 78), "Proletarierplatonismus".

Secondly, since the influence of Norden's brilliant *Agnostos Theos* is still with us, it should be remarked that we do not seem to have in the native beliefs of the Near East any single instance of an "unknown god" who is intrinsically such. There and elsewhere we find deities who are not described or addressed by a personal name [11], and the fact that Yahweh's name was too holy to use could cause him to be regarded as nameless. For "unknown" Norden does indeed quote the statement of Lactantius Placidus *in Stat. Theb.* IV. 516:

> dicit autem deum demiurgon, id est summum, cuius scire non licet nomen. infiniti autem philosophorum Magorum Persae confirmarunt revera esse praeter hos deos cognitos, qui coluntur in templis, alium principem et maxime dominum, ceterorum numinum ordinatorem, de cuius genere sint soli Sol atque Luna; ceteri vero qui circumferi a sphaera nominantur, eius clarescunt spiritu, maximis in hoc auctoribus Pythagora et Platone et ipso Tagete.

At least as far as *cuius scire non licet nomen* is concerned, this is not trustworthy evidence for Persian belief in the first centuries of our era [12].

The scholiast is seeking to explain the words of Statius, quoted later, and the character of his material is indicated by *maximis in hoc* . . . (J. Bidez-F. Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés*, I, 232; I quote the text from their recension, p. 226).

Norden quotes also from a Babylonian hymn, "Gott, den ich kenne, nicht kenne . . . Göttin, die ich kenne, nicht kenne": but this is a penitential psalm, put in the mouth of a man whose

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[11] Cf. E. Bikerman, *J. Warburg Inst.*, I, 187 ff. (adding Strabo p. 164 on a Celtiberian deity, 822 on an Ethiopian); H. J. Rose, *Harv. Theol. Rev.* LI, 1958, 3 ff.

Does Cic. *N. D.* III 56 *quartus* (sc. *Mercurius*) *Nilo patre, quem Aegyptii nefas habent nominare* refer to some story about a secret name? J. B. Mayor remarks *ad loc.* "Herodotus however often makes a mystery of the name Osiris". This Mercurius is distinguished from the fifth M., who taught the Egyptians laws and letters.

[12] Cf. R. C. Zaehner, *Zurvan*, 90, 232, for Z. as incomprehensible, even to God, but the texts cited belong to a time of later theological controversy.

transgressions have been committed unwittingly and who does not know which divinity he may have offended [13]. This is no more to the point than is the frequency in Egyptian texts of such terms as "unknown", "unknown of name", "hidden of form" and so forth. As Professor John A. Wilson writes to me:

> The allegedly "unknown" gods of Egypt were, as you say, known to be Amun and Re and others. The word occurs in relation to an Egyptian god unknown to foreign peoples, as well as a foreign god unknown to the Egyptians (but not expected to be operative in Egypt). Amun, as the invisible force in the air was "unknown of form", and Re, who withheld his own great name of power, was the "unknown of name" [14].

Thirdly, we do not need to look outside the tradition of Greek philosophy for an explanation of statements, however strong, of divine transcendence. A. J. Festugière, *Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, IV, so justly and so beautifully dedicated to E. R. Dodds, has documented in full their development out of Platonic and Pythagorean thought: cf. R. Beutler, *RE Supp.* VII 671; H. Dörrie, *Entretiens Fond. Hardt*, V, 193 ff.; Theiler, *Mus. Helv.* 15, 1958, 105; Wlosok, 53. Again H. Chadwick, *Cl. Rev.* 63, 1949, 24 drew attention to the remark of the Epicurean interlocutor in Cic. *N.D.* I 30, *qui in Timaeo patrem huius mundi nominari neget posse*. This is a hasty transcription of a doxographic source, but it stands there. A notable example at a popular level is Stat. *Theb.* IV 516 *triplicis mundi summum, quem scire nefastum* (meaning *nefas*, as in Hor. *C.* 1. 11. 1), "whom it is not for man to know" [15].

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[13] Ferris J. Stephens in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the O T.*, ed. John B. Pritchard, 391.

[14] When a Leiden hymn (Wilson, *ibid.*, 368) says that none of the gods knew Amun's true form etc., that is a mode of glorifying the god, who was anything but a *deus otiosus*.

Cf. perhaps at Ostia *signum imdeprehensivilis dei* (*C.I.L.* XIV 64; M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus . . . religionis Mithriacae*, I no. 311), from two devotees one of them responsible also for *dei iubenis inconrupti Solis invicti Mithrae* (C.I.L. XIV 66; Vermaseren, I no. 315). Cumont indeed (*Textes*, I, 308) interprets the adjective as "on ne peut le surprendre".

[15] Cf. Th. Hopfner, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, II 153 par. 341 analyzes this scene and points out that Statius makes Tiresias piously

Accordingly we need not postulate any influence from outside the Platonic tradition to account for the interpretation of *Tim.* 28 C here considered [16].

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refuse to perform a ritual with human remains such as Lucan VI described; with like piety he refuses to make use of threats, though he knows how to do so. The Supreme Being whom he designates in this special way is not to be thought of as lying outside Greek thought.

Fulvius (Nobilior) is said by Joh. Lyd. *Ost.* 16 to have followed "Numa" in speaking of the providence of the ineffable Father of the universe (*προόνοιαν τοῦ πάντων ἀῤῥήτου πατρός*): cf. now W. Burkert, *Philol.* CV (1961), 241ff. for a modification of P. Boyancé's important paper in *Rev. phil.* N.S. XXIX (1955), 172ff. This may reproduce a genuine piece of Pythagorizing from the second century B.C.: there is certainly no reason to suppose that Lydus coined or rephrased the quotation. If genuine, it could have stood in a generalizing proem to the Fasti of Fulvius, and the adjective was probably *inenarrabilis*.

[16] I am indebted to Professors Zeph Stewart, J. H. Waszink, and John A. Wilson and Dr. Franz-Norbert Klein for their friendly aid.

CHRYSOSTOM'S AD THEODORUM LAPSUM AND THE EARLY CHRONOLOGY OF THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA

BY

ROBERT E. CARTER, S.J.

The exegesis and theological thought of Theodore of Mopsuestia, along with the history of his posthumous reputation and influence, have been the subject of a large body of recent scholarship [1]. So much so, that at present we know comparatively little about the chronology and events of Theodore's life, especially his early years. It is generally agreed that he died about the year 428, received episcopal consecration about 392, and was probably ordained a priest in 383 [2]. According to the Syriac tradition, the reliability of which is still disputed, he began to teach and write about 378 and entered the "monastery" of Diodore (later bishop of Tarsus) and Flavian (later bishop of Antioch) in 370 or 371 [3]. The date of his birth is usually given as "about" 350, an approximate guess, though Devreesse has remarked that if we could determine the date of Chrysostom's letter *Ad Theodorum lapsum*, written when the recipient was less than twenty, we would have the date of Theodore's birth [4].

Actually the question of dating is only one of many problems raised by recent scholarly studies of Chrysostom's two works *Ad*

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[1] To the bibliographies in J. Quasten, *Patrology* 3: *The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature* (Antwerp 1960) 401–423 add R. Greer, *Theodore of Mopsuestia, Exegete and Theologian* (London 1961).

[2] J. Vosté, "La chronologie de l'activité littéraire de Théodore de Mopsueste," *Revue Biblique* 34 (1925) 54 and n. 1. This is the last *ex professo* study of Theodore's chronology, and has been adopted generally in subsequent studies of Theodore.

[3] Barḥadbešabba of 'Arbaya, *Historia ecclesiastica* c. 19 (PO 9. 504–507, 515–16).

[4] R. Devreesse, *Essai sur Théodore de Mopsueste* ("Studi e Testi" 141: Vatican City 1948) 3.

Theodorum lapsum [5]. No longer may we approach these works in the uncritical manner of many of the older, and for their time authoritative, articles on Theodore of Mopsuestia in our standard reference works [6]. Before any proper use can be made of these writings of Chrysostom three questions must receive a satisfactory answer: 1) Are both written for the same person? 2) Is the Theodore addressed by name in the shorter work the later bishop of Mopsuestia, as we find in the early Byzantine tradition? 3) What is the date of these works?

Chrysostom wrote both the longer work, which is in the form of a treatise [7], and the shorter, which is a letter [8], to a monk or an ascetic who had abandoned the celibate life and become enmeshed in the passions and pursuits of the world. The prevailing opinion has been that both works were addressed to Theodore of Mopsuestia [9]. This was also the view of Leontius of Byzantium in the sixth century, and of Isidore of Seville in the seventh [10]. Since the time of Tillemont, however, there have been scholars who have denied on the basis of internal evidence that these works were directed to the same recipient [11]. Support for this view seems to be found in the first half of the fifth century: Hesychius of Jerusalem

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[5] PG 47, 277–308, 309–316. The most recent critical studies of these works which have come to my attention are: J. Dumortier, "La Question d'Authenticité des Lettres à Théodore," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 51 (1958) 66–72; G. Jouassard, "Ad Theodorum lapsum," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 77 (1958) 140–150; C. Fabricius, "Adressat und Titel der Schrift an Theodor," *Classica et Mediaevalia* 20 (1959) 68–97.

[6] For example, the articles on Theodore by Swete in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, Loofs in the *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, Bardenhewer in his *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, and Amann in the *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*.

[7] PG 47. 277–308. Hereafter I shall refer to this work as the treatise.

[8] PG 47. 309–316. Hereafter referred to as the letter.

[9] So, for example, Swete, *art. cit.* 935; Bardenhewer, *op. cit.* 312; Amann, *art. cit.* 235; Devreesse, *op. cit.* 2–3; Quasten, *op. cit.* 401; Opitz in Pauly-Wissowa RE 2te Reihe 5. 1882; and Altaner, [5]*Patrologie* 285.

[10] Leontius in PG. 86. 1364, and Isidore in PL 83. 1093.

[11] Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique* 12 (Venice 1732) 434–36; L. Pirot, *L'Oeuvre exégétique de Théodore de Mopsueste* (Rome 1913) 46–51; S. Schiwietz, *Das morgenländische Mönchtum* 3 (Mödling 1938) 256, n. 12; Dumortier, *art. cit.* 68–69.

(soon after 431) [12] and Sozomen (before 450) [13] mention only one exhortation of Chrysostom to Theodore of Mopsuestia. Recently C. Fabricius has dissociated the two works on the basis of the external evidence of the manuscript tradition of the Latin, Syriac, Arabic, and Georgian versions [14].

Fabricius has drawn attention to the fact that two writings to Theodore are not mentioned until the middle of the sixth century, by Leontius of Byzantium, about 170 years after their composition and more than a hundred years after the earliest reference, by Hesychius of Jerusalem, to one work. While admitting that the tradition of the titles in the extant Greek manuscripts points to the same Theodore as the recipient of both works, Fabricius finds a different situation in the manuscript tradition of the versions. The manuscripts of the Latin translation made in the fifth century lead us to suppose that when the treatise was translated the name of Theodore was not in the title and the treatise was not associated with the letter. The Syriac translation made before 431 also shows a separate tradition for each work, and again the name Theodore was not in the title of the treatise. Although the letter to Theodore is found in the Georgian and Arabic versions, the treatise is not. Fabricius concludes that the name Theodore must have been introduced into the title of the treatise sometime between the second half of the fifth century and the middle of the sixth. In view of the external evidence marshalled by Fabricius it seems clear that the treatise was not associated with the letter even in the Greek tradition until sometime after the middle of the fifth century, which is difficult to explain if both works were occasioned by the same event and originally addressed to the same person.

That the letter and treatise were written on different occasions and addressed to different persons is confirmed by an examination of the contents of the two works [15]. The unnamed friend for whom the treatise was composed seems to have been rather far advanced

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[12] Mansi 9. 248.

[13] PG 67. 1516.

[14] Fabricius, *art. cit.* 70–80.

[15] In what follows some of the observations are my own and some were made by the authors cited above in note 11.

in the spiritual life before his fall: he had "attained to heaven" [16], "the peak and summit of virtue" [17], and his religious observance had been one of exactness (*ἀκρίβεια*) [18]. On the other hand, the friend to whom the letter was directed, and who was addressed several times by the name Theodore, had just begun his religious life. Although his conversion had been rapid, sincere, and fervent [19], he fell before he had spent much time in extended fasts and other mortifications [20]. He was just setting sail, not returning to harbor with a full cargo [21], and was tripped up by the devil just when he had stripped for action against him [22]. He had read Scripture assiduously since his conversion, but Chrysostom thought it not out of place to mention to him that Solomon was David's son [23]. In fact, Theodore was not yet twenty years old [24].

In the treatise there is no direct indication of where and what kind of religious life Chrysostom's friend lived before his fall. The clearest indirect evidence is found in two examples which Chrysostom cites to encourage his friend to return to his former state. Phoenix, the son of Urbanus, who as a young man left the world for the solitude of the mountains, later returned to the pleasures of the city, but was eventually reconverted to his former seclusion in the mountains, where he advanced to the peak of perfection on that way which leads to heaven [25]. The second example is that of a monk who led a semi-eremitical life with one companion. When he was well on in years he yielded to his desires and went down to the city to a brothel. His companion followed him, waited outside, and when his erring brother came out of the brothel persuaded him to return to the mountain [26]. In both cases a hermit in the

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16 PG 47. 280D.
17 *Ibid.* 279A.
18 *Ibid.* 287D.
19 *Ibid.* 310, lines 15–16.
20 *Ibid.* 310, lines 26–28.
21 *Ibid.* 310, lines 33–35.
22 *Ibid.* 310, lines 31–32.
23 *Ibid.* 310, lines 20–21; 311, line 16.
24 *Ibid.* 313D.
25 *Ibid.* 303–304.
26 *Ibid.* 304–305.

mountains outside Antioch returned to the city for sexual gratification. These examples would have more point if Chrysostom's friend had been leading an eremitical life away from the city and was now in Antioch. In the letter Chrysostom mentions by name several "brethren" besides himself with whom Theodore had been associated [27]. Hence, Theodore had probably been living some sort of cenobitical rather than an eremitical life. Since the letter does not mention mountains, Theodore had probably been an ascetic in the city of Antioch or in its immediate environs.

The present condition of the two recipients is also very different. The friend to whom the treatise is directed is interested only in Hermione: "You marvel at Hermione's beauty now and judge that there is nothing on earth like her fair form" [28]. There is no talk of marriage, and Hermione may be a literary cover-name for, as Dumortier so delicately expresses it, a "*courtisane*" [29]. Moreover, Chrysostom's friend seems to have fallen into despair [30]. Theodore, on the other hand, is much more respectable; he is contemplating marriage, is not so blinded by passion as to lose sight of the other goods of this world – power, wealth, and a good name among men – and is managing his family's affairs [31]. His return to the ascetical brotherhood of which he was a member is prevented not so much by despair as by his indifference (ῥᾳθυμία) and his unwillingness to rise again [32].

Finally, a difference in Chrysostom's own attitude may be detected. In the treatise it is more theological. He speaks of his friend's fall as the "desolation of a holy soul" and "obliteration of a Christ-bearing temple", and laments that the Holy Spirit no longer dwells within his friend's soul [33]. The letter displays a more legal mentality. Theodore has removed his name from the catalogue of the brethren and has trodden underfoot his contract (συνθήκας)

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[27] *Ibid.* 309A; 313C.
[28] *Ibid.* 297, lines 23–25.
[29] Dumortier, *art. cit.* 68, n. 10.
[30] PG 47. 279A; 308D; *et passim.*
[31] *Ibid.* 312C; 312A; 309A.
[32] *Ibid.* 309, line 9; 313D.
[33] *Ibid.* 277, line 13; 278, lines 4–8.

with Christ which rendered any subsequent "marriage" adultery [34].

This internal evidence, taken with the external evidence adduced by Fabricius, shows then beyond any reasonable doubt that the two works were originally independent and that the treatise can give us no information about the Theodore to whom the letter is addressed. Our first question has therefore received a satisfactory answer.

The second question posed was whether the Theodore addressed by name in the letter was the later bishop of Mopsuestia. Fabricius has strenuously opposed this identification because of an alleged chronological impossibility. Theodore of Mopsuestia entered monastic life in the year 371 or 372 and his fall occurred less than a year later, whereas the letter to Theodore must have been written during Chrysostom's monastic period, which Fabricius, following Baur, Lietzmann, and others, dates from 375 to 381 [35]. Faced with the early Byzantine tradition to the contrary, Fabricius develops Jouassard's speculations [36], suggesting that Hesychius of Jerusalem was Sozomen's source, and was the first to identify the Theodore of Chrysostom's letter with Theodore of Mopsuestia. Hesychius' motivation was *odium theologicum* in the years immediately after Ephesus I, when Theodore's writings were being circulated among Nestorius' sympathizers [37]. Each of the propositions in Fabricius' argument deserves our further consideration.

Fabricius' chronology of Theodore, based largely on Barḥadbešabba, is essentially sound, though certain minor precisions may be made. Following Fritzsche [38], Fabricius dates Theodore's episcopal consecration to either 392 or 393. But since Nestorius was patriarch-elect [39] of Constantinople (A.D. 428) when Theodore died after an episcopate of thirty-six years [40], the date of Theodore's consecration must have been 392. According to Barḥadbešabba, Theodore spent twenty-one years in the monastery at the feet of

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[34] *Ibid.* 309, lines 4–5; 312C.
[35] Fabricius, *art. cit.* 82–91.
[36] Jouassard, *art. cit.*
[37] Fabricius, *art. cit.* 93.
[38] PG 66. 14.
[39] PO 4. 380.
[40] PO 9. 515.

"Flavians and Diodores" (which presumably means Flavian, Diodore, and their successors) [41] before his consecration. Fabricius concludes that Theodore must have entered the monastery in 371 or 372. But the reason for Theodore's departure from the monastery was to debate with the Macedonians at Anazarbus. The latter, however, refused to dispute with anyone who was not a bishop. It was only after many pleas from the orthodox bishops and repeated refusals by Theodore that the latter was prevailed upon to accept consecration [42]. How much time elapsed between Theodore's departure from the monastery and his consecration is difficult to determine – at least several weeks, probably less than a year. If he was consecrated in 392, he probably left the monastery in either that same year or in 391. His entrance twenty-one years earlier would then have been in 370 or 371.

The second proposition in Fabricius' argument is that Chrysostom's letter was written during his monastic period from 375 to 381. Fabricius sees similarities in theme, tone, and style between the letter to Theodore and other writings from Chrysostom's monastic period. Unfortunately, he indicates neither what similarities he has in mind nor which of Chrysostom's other works he assigns to the monastic period. He goes on to say that no such similarities have been, or in his opinion can be, pointed out between the letter to Theodore and the only premonastic work of Chrysostom that we possess, the *Comparatio regis et monachi* [43]. But in fact there are similarities between the letter to Theodore and the *Comparatio*. The latter is a kind of *λόγος προτρεπτικός* exhorting young men to turn to the ascetical life, the true philosophy. The main point of the work is that the power, wealth, and honor of the emperor (or of an official in the imperial bureaucracy) are difficult to attain, easy to lose, and ultimately of their very nature transitory; the monk's power, wealth, and honor are within every man's power to acquire and keep, and do not pass away with this earthly life. In the letter to Theodore worldly power, wealth, and honor are recurrent themes, and it is precisely their transitory

41 *Ibid.* 505.

42 *Ibid.* 506–507.

43 Fabricius, *art. cit.* 90–91.

character which is emphasized, as in the *Comparatio* [44]. Moreover, there is one passage in the letter which seems to allude to the *Comparatio* (*Σύγκρισις*):

> Which of the things in the world seems to you to be most blessed and enviable? No doubt you will say the power to rule, wealth, and a good name among men. And what is there more wretched than these when they are compared (*συγκρίνηται*) to the freedom of Christians? [45]

This passage would even seem to suggest that the *Comparatio regis et monachi* had been influential in Theodore's conversion. Be that as it may, from the similarities in theme and the apparent allusion to the *Comparatio* it seems likely that the letter to Theodore was written not many years after the *Comparatio*.

Fabricius rightly considers the *Comparatio* Chrysostom's earliest extant work, written soon after he left the school of Libanius and before he took up monastic life in the mountains outside Antioch [46]. Unfortunately, Fabricius follows Baur's chronology in dating the *Comparatio* to about 375. In view of the many objections which scholars have made to this chronology during the past twenty-five years it is preferable to date the *Comparatio* to within a year or two after 367, when Chrysostom left the school of Libanius [47].

Another difficulty with Fabricius' second proposition is his belief that the letter was written sometime during the six years that Chrysostom was a monk in the mountains outside Antioch. All that we know of this period is that for four years Chrysostom lived with an old Syrian monk, which implies a semi-eremitical life, and then for two years by himself as a hermit [48]. But at the time of the letter, as we have seen above, Chrysostom was leading a kind of cenobitical life with several others. The only cenobitical establishment with which we know him to have been associated

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[44] PG 47. 312A-B; 313A; 314A-B.

[45] *Ibid.* 312A.

[46] Fabricius, *art. cit.* 91; cf. C. Fabricius, "Vier Libaniusstellen bei Johannes Chrysostomus," *Symbolae Osloenses* 33 (1957) 135–36.

[47] R. Carter, "The Chronology of Saint John Chrysostom's Early Life," *Traditio* 18 (1962), 358-64.

[48] Palladius, *Dialogus* c. 5 (PG 47. 18C-D).

was the *ἀσκητήριον* of Diodore [49]. Although Basil the Great did not use the word *ἀσκητήριον* in any of his undisputed writings, Gregory Nazianzen uses this word in referring to Basil's coenobia [50]. There are remarkable similarities of detail between Basil's *Longer Rules* and Chrysostom's letter: a contract or vow (*συνθῆκαι*) was made which made any subsequent attempt at marriage at least illicit (so Basil) and even invalid (so Chrysostom); upon entrance one's name was officially enrolled (*συγκαταλέγεσθαι*) in the catalogue (*κατάλογος*) of the brethren (*ἀδελφοί*), who were thought of as being each a member (*μέλος*) of a body (*σῶμα*) [51]. Whatever differences there may have been, Diodore's and Basil's *ἀσκητήρια* were similar in more than name alone. The letter to Theodore should be assigned to the period during which Chrysostom belonged to the *ἀσκητήριον* of Diodore, that is, from about 368 to 371 or 372 [52].

Thus Fabricius' alleged chronological difficulty falls to the ground. Theodore of Mopsuestia entered Diodore's *ἀσκητήριον* in 370 or 371, as we have seen, and Chrysostom's letter was written sometime between 368 and 372.

Fabricius' attempt to dispose of the Byzantine tradition rests on 1) an *argumentum ex silentio*, i.e., there is no written evidence for the tradition before 431, 2) the utility of the identification for the polemics against Nestorianism and the Antiochene theology, and 3) the suggestion that Hesychius of Jerusalem is the direct or indirect source for Sozomen and the later writers. First it should be noted that the polemics which drew attention to Theodore's early fall did not exist before 431, so that even if the story was true there was no reason to publish it far and wide before that date.

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[49] Socrates, *Historia ecclesiastica* 6. 3 (PG 67. 665D); Sozomen, *Historia ecclesiastica* 8. 2 (PG 67. 1516A).

[50] Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio* 43. 62 (PG 36. 577B); cf. W. K. L. Clarke, *The Ascetic Works of Saint Basil* (London 1925) 137, n. 8.

[51] PG 31. 949C, 952B; cf. PG 47. 309A. 312C. 313C.

[52] Carter, *art. cit.* The absence of Diodore's name from the list of brethren mentioned in the letter need not lead us to Loofs' conclusion (Loofs, *art. cit.* 600) that the letter was not written in the *ἀσκητήριον*. Chrysostom indicates that his list is not taxative. From the differences in age and position one would not expect Diodore to be included among Theodore's closest friends.

Secondly, the silence of Theodore's defenders points to the truth of the fall, since it is probable that at least a few men were still alive in the 430's who had known Theodore in his youth (Acacius of Beroea died at this time at the age of more than a hundred) and who would have denied the story, if it was untrue, out of loyalty to Theodore and the Antiochene theology; yet there is no evidence of any such denial in later writers favorable to Theodore, such as Theodoret or Barḥadbešabba. Finally, Sozomen's dependence on Hesychius is not at all evident. Whereas Hesychius told the story to illustrate Theodore's instability, Sozomen uses it to show Chrysostom's powers of persuasion, and in so far as any attitude is implied it is one of approval that Theodore admitted his erring ways and returned to his former allegiance. If we are to conjecture about Sozomen's source at all, we should look to the local traditions of Antioch rather than to Hesychius.

The ultimate criterion for judging the historicity of the tradition must come from a study of Chrysostom's letter. Do the biographical details about Theodore found in the letter correspond to what we are told about Theodore of Mopsuestia's early life in other, and at least partially independent, sources?

Barḥadbešabba informs us that Theodore of Mopsuestia was born in Antioch of a prominent family [53]. Though Chrysostom does not mention the place of Theodore's birth, he gives several indications of his family's high position [54]. According to Barḥadbešabba, when Theodore was sixteen and sufficiently instructed in the science of the Greeks, he turned to the reading of Scripture, influenced in this direction by Chrysostom, with whom he had attended the same school [55]. Socrates and Sozomen give the further details that Chrysostom persuaded Theodore and Maximus, the later bishop of Seleucia, to abandon secular pursuits in order to take up the ascetical life, and that all three attended the school of Libanius [56]. The Theodore of Chrysostom's letter turned entirely from the study of pagan wisdom to Scripture [57]. Chrysostom also indicates that he

[53] PO 9. 504.
[54] PG 47. 309, line 3; 310, lines 21–24.
[55] PO 9. 504.
[56] PG 67. 665; 1516.
[57] PG 47. 310, lines 19–20.

knew Theodore before his conversion [58], and that Theodore had studied rhetoric with a view to a legal career [59], all of which points to the school of Libanius. Barḥadbešabba also tells us that Theodore, in order to learn the way of perfection and to study the sacred Scriptures, sought entrance into a cenobitical community (ܕܝܪܐ) which was superior to others, but was put off for a full year in order that it might be seen whether he was suitable; after the year of probation he was accepted by the community, whose members marveled greatly at his conduct and perseverance [60]. Although Chrysostom does not explicitly mention a year of probation, he echoes the latter part of Barḥadbešabba's statement when he asks: "Who was not amazed at your rapid, sincere, and fervent conversion?" [61] The sincerity of Theodore's conversion could only be known and therefore an object of admiration if Theodore persevered. But since he did not persevere after his entry into the *ἀσκητήριον* he must have shown his perseverance before, which points to a period of probation. Both Barḥadbešabba and Chrysostom were impressed by the comparative youth, almost precociousness, of their respective Theodores. The former stresses that Theodore was only sixteen when his conversion began, and the latter reminds his fallen friend, as we saw above, that he is not yet twenty.

Since Barḥadbešabba and Chrysostom each furnish a rather detailed account, even more impressive than the many agreements between them is the absence of any contradiction – with one possible exception. Chrysostom's letter indicates that Theodore abandoned his rhetorical studies before completing the basic training necessary for public life [62]. Barḥadbešabba implies that Theodore was proficient in the wisdom of the Greeks when he gave up secular studies at the age of sixteen [63]. This is not clearly a contradiction: Chrysostom is talking about the training in rhetoric needed for public life; Barḥadbešabba may have nothing more in

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58 *Ibid.* 314, lines 4–5.
59 *Ibid.* 311, lines 24–28.
60 PO 9. 505.
61 PG 47. 310, lines 15–17.
62 PG 47. 311, lines 24–28.
63 PO 9. 504.

mind than the general knowledge of secular subjects useful to a Christian, if he is not exaggerating *encomii causa*. If Theodore gave up his pagan studies at the age of sixteen, as Barḥadbešabba says, this would confirm Chrysostom's judgment, since Libanius' students usually studied in his school for four years, from the age of fourteen to eighteen [64]. Further confirmation comes from Photius, who complained that Theodore's style was obscure, tautological, and lacking in grace [65].

Favoring then the reliability of the tradition which identifies the recipient of Chrysostom's letter with Theodore of Mopsuestia are the following considerations. Chrysostom's letter agrees with Barḥadbešabba that Theodore was of a prominent family and before completing his secular training turned with enthusiasm to asceticism and the study of Scripture; Theodore was acquainted with Chrysostom in the school of Libanius and in the ἀσκητήριον of Diodore, where the quality of his religious life was greatly admired. Chrysostom's letter also is in harmony with the data about Theodore of Mopsuestia provided by Socrates, Sozomen, and Photius. Moreover, there is no contradiction between Chrysostom's information and that of Socrates, Sozomen, Barḥadbešabba, and Photius. Finally, there is no evidence that the identification was ever denied or even questioned in the fifth century, although it served polemical ends at a time when men favorable to the Antiochene theology, loyal to Theodore's memory, and who could have known the truth of the matter, were probably still alive. Surely the *onus probandi* again rests on whoever would deny the identification.

Our third question concerned the date of the treatise and the letter. Schiwietz has pointed out that the probable date of the treatise may be determined from a passage which seems to refer to the affair of the statues at Antioch in 387: "For if all men, even those who are out of danger, are terrified when one city is being judged by these [human] rulers, when the whole world is judged by such a judge [God] . . . how is it not likely that all power is shaken

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[64] A. Festugière, *Antioche païenne et chrétienne* (Paris 1959) 187, n. 4.
[65] Photius, *Bibliotheca* cod. 38 (PG 103. 70D–72A).

and sent reeling?" [66] The treatise, then, was probably written soon after 387, while the events which occasioned Chrysostom's homilies *On the Statues* [67] were still vivid in men's memories.

Since the letter was written during the time Chrysostom was associated with the *ἀσκητήριον* of Diodore, its date must be between 368 and 372. Since it was addressed to Theodore of Mopsuestia, who entered the *ἀσκητήριον* in 370 or 371, the most probable date for the letter would be 371.

Now we may return to our initial concern: the chronology and events of the early life of Theodore of Mopsuestia. According to Chrysostom's letter, written in 371, Theodore was less than twenty years old. Since Chrysostom had a rhetorical penchant for round numbers, Theodore's age could conceivably have been anywhere from fifteen to nineteen. However, Chrysostom here wishes to emphasize his friend's youth. Therefore, if Theodore were much younger than twenty Chrysostom would probably have given either his exact age or referred to him as a mere boy. In all probability Theodore was nineteen in 371. Since the letter seems to have been written soon after Theodore's fall, and since this seems to have occurred not long after his reception into the *ἀσκητήριον*, Theodore was probably eighteen when he entered the *ἀσκητήριον*, in 370.

I have suggested that Chrysostom's *Comparatio regis et monachi* may have been instrumental in Theodore's conversion to the ascetical life. Fabricius believes, as noted above, that the *Comparatio* was composed soon after Chrysostom's departure from the school of Libanius. I would agree, and propose that it be dated to the year 368, soon after Chrysostom's baptism and entrance into the *ἀσκητήριον*. The work shows the enthusiasm of first fervor and the naiveté of inexperience. The climate of discourse is more that of the popular philosophy of the pagan schools than of Christian perfection. There are only two scriptural quotations: "Ask, and it shall be given you" (Mt 7:7), and "The kingdom of heaven is within you" (Lk 17:21) [68]. Four stories from 1 and 2 Kings are

[66] PG 47. 294C; Schiwietz, *op. cit.* 256, n. 12.

[67] PG 49. 15–222. For the background of these homilies see C. Baur, *John Chrysostom and His Time* 1: *Antioch* (trans. Sr. M. Gonzaga: Westminster, Md. 1959) 259–283.

[68] PG 47. 392D; 391D.

used as paradeigmata to show the superiority of monks (= prophets) to kings [69]. The only books of the Bible which Chrysostom gives evidence of having studied are the historical books which provide the background for the prophets. This is interesting when we recall the historical and literal approach of Antiochene exegesis, of which Diodore was a leading representative. What better introduction to the study of Scripture in Diodore's community than the historical books?

If Theodore was moved by the *Comparatio* to abandon his studies under Libanius for asceticism, his conversion probably occurred in 368, when he was sixteen. There would have been almost two years between his conversion and his entrance into the *ἀσκητήριον*. Here Barḥadbešabba's information is very opportune. According to the Syriac historian, Theodore's conversion took place when he was sixteen. "Soon after" (ܒܬܪ ܩܠܝܠ) he applied for entrance to the famous community and was made to wait a full year (ܫܢܬܐ ܟܠܗ) before being admitted [70].

From both Chrysostom and Photius we have evidence that Theodore did not complete his rhetorical training. Libanius' students usually studied in his school for four years, from the age of fourteen to eighteen. There is no reason for supposing that Theodore did not enter the school of Libanius at the usual age of fourteen, in 366. Since Chrysostom left the school in 367, his last year there would have coincided with Theodore's first. Socrates and Sozomen indicate that Chrysostom and Theodore attended the same school, and we have seen from Chrysostom's letter that he knew Theodore before the latter joined the *ἀσκητήριον*.

By making the reasonable assumption that Theodore was nineteen in 371 we have reconciled the data provided directly or indirectly by Chrysostom, Socrates, Sozomen, Barḥadbešabba, and Photius. We may therefore with great probability assign Theodore's birth to the year 352.

The conclusions we have reached will perhaps be clearer from the following summary:

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69 PG 47. 391.
70 PO 9. 504.

THEODORE	*A.D.*	CHRYSOSTOM
	349	born
born	352	
	363	enters school of Libanius
enters school of Libanius	366	
	367	leaves Libanius
	368	enters *ἀσκητήριον.*
		Comparatio regis et monachi
leaves Libanius		
enters *ἀσκητήριον*	370	
fall	370/71	
	371	Letter *Ad Theodorum lapsum*

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REVIEWS

A Patristic Greek Lexicon. Fascicle I (*α – Βαραθρόω*). Edited by G. W. H. Lampe. Oxford, Clarendon Press – Oxford University Press, 1961. Pp. 288. Pr. 84 s.

Après une longue période de préparation – c'est que la suggestion du projet remonte déjà à 1906 et le dépouillement de textes a déjà commencé quelques années après – le premier fascicule du *Patristic Greek Lexicon* que l'on avait tant attendu, a paru et il remplira une lacune qu'éprouvent profondément tous ceux qui s'occupent des auteurs grecs chrétiens. Si l'achèvement de l'ouvrage s'accomplit suivant les plans, nous disposerons dans quelques années d'un instrument de travail très important voire indispensable pour le grec patristique tant au service des études philologiques que des études théologiques.

Le lexique se propose de donner une histoire succincte de tous les vocables qui sont d'importance dans le domaine théologique ou qui, d'une façon générale, se rapportent à la pensée ou à l'organisation chrétienne pour autant qu'on les rencontre chez les auteurs grecs chrétiens pendant la période qui va des Pères Apostoliques jusque ± 800 après J. C. Sont aussi traités un certain nombre de termes qui figurent comme interprétation typologique ou allégorique des textes bibliques. Grâce à nombre de citations assez étendues, il est possible de se former une idée de l'évolution sémantique d'un vocable quelconque.

Le lexique se propose en outre d'intégrer les mots d'importance théologique ou non qui ne figurent pas ou qui sont mentionnés de façon insuffisante dans le «*Greek-English Lexicon*» de Liddell-Scott. Ceci s'applique aussi aux formes et aux détails grammaticaux, bien que l'ouvrage prétende s'orienter plutôt dans le sens théologique que linguistique. Comme le fait déjà remarquer l'introduction, ce plan d'ensemble qui a été adopté pour des raisons d'ordre pratique a le désavantage que l'histoire de l'usage du mot est combinée avec l'histoire d'idées théologiques, d'institutions etc.

La prépondérance qu'accuse l'attention pour l'aspect théologique a pour conséquence qu'une certaine ambiguïté se fait jour à plusieurs reprises. Dans tel article on relève bien certaines données linguistiques, alors qu'ailleurs c'est à peine si l'on s'y arrête. C'est ainsi que la cohérence présupposée chez les auteurs chrétiens entre *βάπτισμα* et *παῖσμα* (figurant aussi dans les Etymologica) est relevée dans une subdivision spéciale (sous *βάπτισμα*, XIII); par contre pour *ἅγιος* l'étymologie *ἁ–γῆ* est traitée en passant sous CI a, alors que dans D II a, bien qu'il s'agisse d'un passage étymologique explicite, on n'y prête aucune attention. (Il est question ici d'une étymologie qui aussi bien que les spéculations qui s'y rattachent,

a été connue à l'Ouest aussi, cfr. R. M. Frank, An etymology of ἅγιος in a work of Caesarius of Arles, *Traditio* VIII, 1952, p. 387–389.)

De nombreux termes, pris au hasard dans l'ouvrage, montrent que le travail a été effectué avec une grande précision, ce en quoi il se distingue favorablement du «*Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine periods*» de E. A. Sophocles qui date déjà depuis des dizaines d'années. Bien qu'il fût impossible de tendre à la perfection quant aux citations à donner, on peut dire néanmoins que, malgré la concision appliquée, les principales facettes de l'usage des mots dans la littérature patristique ont été éclaircies de façon compacte (comparer p.e. l'article βάλλειν). Il eût été pourtant recommandable d'indiquer si l'on a affaire à un *hapax legomenon* ou à un terme fréquent. Un terme qui se rencontre plus souvent n'est parfois traité que par une seule référence (p.e. αἰωνίζειν).

Voici encore quelques remarques portant sur des détails: Tel mot manque bien qu'il ne figure pas non plus dans le lexique de Liddell-Scott. Ainsi p.e. ἀπαχρειοῦσθαι dans l'épître 151 de Basile (le sens est contesté cf. les éditions de Deferrari-McGuire et de Y. Courtonne). Ainsi manque également ἀποκαλεῖν dans le sens de 'conviciari' (Callinicus, *Vita Hypatii*, Berlin-Leipzig 1895, p. 121, 25).

On a l'impression que certaines études spéciales de termes et certains commentaires auraient pu être utilisés dans une plus grande mesure. Nous ne rencontrons pas p.e. le sens spécial de ἀντέχεσθαι (= ἀκροᾶσθαι), que Tabachovitz a adopté à bon droit pour un passage de l'Historia Lausiaca. Il est regrettable que le plan d'ensemble et le manque de place ne permettent pas non plus de donner des références de littérature ainsi que dans le «*Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*» de Bauer, d'autant plus que ces données sont parfois très éparpillées. L'astérisque qui indique qu'il s'agit d'un terme ne figurant pas dans le lexique de Liddell-Scott manque pour ἀνάλωμα et pour ἀνθρωποτόκος. Le signe en usage pour des vocables ayant une tout autre signification que dans le lexique de Liddell-Scott aurait tout aussi bien pu se trouver p.e. près du mot ἀκατήχητος (Liddell-Scott: *not encompassed by sound;* Patristic Greek Lexicon: *uninstructed*). Il n'est pas toujours possible de trouver immédiatement la raison pour laquelle certains vocables qui figurent dans le lexique de Liddell-Scott ont été intégrés, p.e. ἀνθύπατος.

Tandis qu'on a intégré ἄσφακτος à base du fait qu'il fonctionne régulièrement comme attribut de θυσία dans la littérature patristique, les considérations par contre concernant ἀσύφηλος p.e. sont moins claires. Tandis que ἀντιβολή a été accepté parce qu'il se rapporte, à plusieurs reprises, à des discussions sur des questions religieuses et théologiques, on s'attendait à peine à trouver ἀντιδανείζω étant donné que suivant le lexique de Liddell-Scott ἀντιδανειστέον se rencontre déjà chez Aristote.

Peut-on faire ces remarques concernant la façon dont l'ouvrage se trouve en rapport avec le lexique de Liddell-Scott, on pourrait tout aussi bien faire par-ci par-là l'un ou l'autre commentaire sur la terminologie spécifiquement chrétienne, tout en manifestant une grande admiration pour l'immense quantité de matériaux mise en œuvre et pour la précision avec laquelle il a été procédé.

Quelques vocables chrétiens pris dans l'*Anthologia Graeca* ne se trouvent pas dans le *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p.e. *ἀγγελίαρχος*, employé par Agathias dans un de ses épigrammes dans le sens de *ἀρχάγγελος*, et également *ἀγγελιωτής* qui figure déjà, il est vrai, dans les hymnes homériques, mais qui dans la poésie chrétienne est parfois l'équivalent de *ἄγγελος*.

Sous le mot *ἀντίζηλος* on aurait pu ajouter au passage donné *Mart. Pol.* 17, 1 «épithète du diable», tel qu'on l'a fait pour d'autres épithètes semblables. Certainement *ἀνταγωνιστής*, terme désignant le diable, aurait pu être intégré, comp. Macarius, *Epistula Magna I ad Monachos* (Ed. W. Jaeger, Leiden 1954, p. 236, 21): *διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀνταγωνιστὴν πάλην* (Comp. aussi Chrysost., *De diabolo tentatore*, P.G. 49, 259).

Quant au vocable *ἀπαρχή* on pourrait signaler que la citation de l'Apocalypse de St. Jean (14, 4) a été appliquée à des moines par Callinicus (*Vita Hypatii* 87, 27, Berlin-Leipzig 1895). On peut parler d'une certaine inconséquence quand on ne trouve pas *ἄνομος* (qui désigne probablement le diable dans la lettre de Barnabas, comp. les éditions de Lightfoot et de Krüger ad locum), mais que *ἀντικείμενος* qui figure pourtant aussi dans le N. T. (*I Tim.* 5, 14) ait été intégré. Manque aussi *ἀντίδικος* qui figure constamment dans la littérature patristique (p.e. chez Macarius Aegyptius P.G. 34, 430; Athanasius, P.G. 25, 540 A).

Il serait à souhaiter que *ἀγνόημα* – terme figurant déjà dans la bible pour désigner le péché (péché commis par ignorance) eût été mentionné, d'autant plus que *ἄγνοια* a été traité et que *ἁμαρτία* est longuement exposé.

Si nombre de vocables, qui ont joué un rôle dans l'exégèse et dans l'allégorèse ont été intégrés, un mot tel que *Αἴγυπτος* (comp. la façon dont il est traité dans le RAC) aurait mérité une certaine attention.

Pour plusieurs termes on pourrait relever des passages plus anciens que ceux qui ont été indiqués. Ainsi p.e. pour *ἀποδημεῖν* on pourrait trouver dans *Mart. Pol.* 2, 2 *(τῆς σαρκὸς ἀπεδήμουν)* un passage plus ancien que celui figurant dans les *Stromateis* de Clément d'Alexandrie. Pour *ἀδίστακτος* dans le sens de «undoubting, unwavering» on cite Nilus et Jean Climacus; or, nous trouvons déjà chez Macarius *ἀδιστάκτου πίστεως* (comp. W. Jaeger, *Two rediscovered works of ancient Christian literature, Gregory of Nyssa and Macarius*, Leiden 1954, p. 234, 26).

Les desiderata que nous avons signalés ci-dessus ne diminuent en rien notre appréciation et notre profonde admiration pour l'ampleur du travail accompli grâce auquel on va réaliser ce lexique qui comportant presque toute la littérature patristique sera un instrument de travail indispensable.

Oldenzaal, Reigerstraat 36 G. BARTELINK

Jean Beaujeu, *L'Incendie de Rome et les chrétiens* (Collection Latomus vol. XLIX). Bruxelles-Berchem 1960. Pp. 48. Pr. Fr. B. 75.

Les problèmes de caractère historique aussi bien que ceux de caractère philologique que le fameux texte de Tacite, *Ann.* XV, 44, 2–4 soulève, ont stimulé d'innombrables études. Le professeur Beaujeu, tout en s'en rendant compte, se réfère surtout au commentaire de H. Furneaux au texte de Tacite (Oxford1907), à l'article de H. Fuchs dans les *Vigiliae Christianae* IV, 1950 et à l'étude de A. Ronconi, *Tacito, Plinio e i Cristiani* de 1956, et il croit que le moment est venu maintenant d'esquisser une mise au point d'ensemble de ces problèmes. Les conclusions de l'étude de M. Beaujeu sont simples et concrètes: Néron a accusé les chrétiens (*subdidit reos*); Tacite pourtant a voulu dire – et à bon droit –: ils furent reconnus coupables, moins du crime d'incendie qu'en raison de leur haine pour le genre humain. Ensuite les modalités juridiques des poursuites sont traitées, et ici la théorie de Th. Mommsen de la *coercitio* est renouvelée. Elle est admise, dit M. B., par un nombre croissant d'historiens aujourd'hui. On le lit avec satisfaction, car, à mon avis, aucune théorie dressée après celle de Mommsen, n'a pu concurrencer avec elle pour expliquer la variabilité de méthode des persécutions. Surtout plusieurs manuels d'histoire ecclésiastique catholiques supposent toujours l'existence – indémontrable d'ailleurs – d'une loi contre l'église. Comme témoin moderne, M. B. cite surtout les précisions de M. Brasiello, *La repressione penale in diritto romano* (Naples 1937). Or, comme cette question qui dépasse un peu le cadre du point de départ de M. B., reçoit une place d'importance dans son argumentation, l'on se demande pourquoi en citant Tertullien, *Apol.* XXVII (p. 30 n. 2), où paraît l'expression *hostes generis humani*, l'auteur n'insiste pas sur l'assertion positive de l'apologiste, qu'au contraire les chrétiens se mêlent partout parmi le peuple: *sola vobis relinquimus templa;* cf. ch. XLII, où il réfute le "*infructuosi negotiis*". Quant à la composition du traité de M. B., elle aurait gagné encore en vertu persuasive si la phrase préalable du passage de Tacite: *sed non ope humana* etc. avait figurée dans son commentaire, car elle surtout semble révéler le jugement de l'historien sur l'empereur criminel. L'hypothèse d'interpolation n'obtient plus une place dans la discussion.

Leiden, Rapenburg 40 J. N. BAKHUIZEN VAN DEN BRINK

Tyrannii Rufini Opera recognovit Manlius Simonetti (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, XX). Turnholti, Typographi Brepols editores Pontificii, 1961. XX, 361 pp.

Comprehenduntur hac editione omnia opera ipsius Rufini ingenio debita quae sunt: De adulteratione librorum Origenis, Apologia ad Anastasium Romanae urbis episcopum, Apologiae contra Hieronymum libri duo, Expositio Symboli, De benedictionibus patriarcharum. Non huc receptae sunt versiones Latinae operum Graecorum, additae vero earum translationum omnium praefationes cum epilogo in explanationem Origenis supra epistulam Pauli ad Romanos. Textus quinque operum cum maxime enumeratorum ab ipso editore ad fidem codicum constitutus est; idem valet – ut titulis ab ipso editore scriptis utamur – de prologo in Apologeticum Pamphili martyris pro Origene, de praefatione in Omelias Sancti Basilii, de prologo in Regulam Sancti Basilii, de prologo in Explanationem Origenis super Psalmos XXXVI–XXXVII–XXXVIII. E contra praefationes si in editionibus fide dignis iam praesto erant, textus formae illis praebitae in hanc editionem receptae sunt; sic, ut unum tantum hic exemplum afferamus, praefationes in libros Origenis De principiis ad fidem editionis Pauli Koetschau impressae sunt.

Summam operam dedit Manlius Simonetti, vir doctus de studiis cum patristicis tum hagiographicis bene meritus, ut textus a se ipso curatos substructionibus quam firmissimis fundaret. Uniuscuiusque operis textus praefatione praeceditur, in qua de rationibus inter libros manu scriptos, quorum partem longe maiorem primus adhibuit editor, intercedentibus magna cura et religione disputatur et (id quod vel praecipue gaudendum est) eorum codicum stemma proponitur. Qua de causa nequaquam veremur, ne v. d. Simonetti laboribus nimis tribuamus, si eum eorum operum editionem criticam principem in lucem dedisse autumaverimus; nemo enim post editiones libri de adulteratione librorum Origenis a Ruaeo factam et ceterorum quattuor a Vallarsio curatam, quae editiones immutatae in Patrologiam Latinam receptae sunt quaeque paucis tantum codicibus iisque nequaquam perpetuo et recta ratione adhibitis nitebantur, ad textuum traditiones elucidandas ipsosque hoc fundamento stabiliendos progressus est.

Praefatio continet descriptionem brevem sed accuratam vitae Rufini; quam sequitur synopsis regestorum Rufinianorum et bibliographia, qua tituli CVI operum ad Rufinum quoquo modo pertinentium exhibentur. Agmen cogunt indices locorum ex Scriptura Sacra et ex auctoribus sive Christianis sive paganis a Rufino adductorum nec non elenchus utilissimus et locupletissimus (pp. 297–345), qui, ut ipsius editoris verbis utamur, "Rufini res verba locutionesque notabilia" commemorat. Hoc indice vero res adeo

variae continentur, ut iure rogare possis, num praestitisset eum in tres vel quattuor partes subdividere. Nunc enim habemus indicem in quem promiscue congessit editor cum nomina propria in his Rufini operibus obvia tum vocabula et locutiones sermonis Rufiniani proprias tum denique res notabiles ab eo memoratas. Accedit quod, quantum ad sermonem Latinum pertinet, non tantum voces et locutiones singulae, sed etiam notiones ad grammaticam et eloquentiae stilum pertinentes ut "genetivus" et "variatio" – hae quidem litteris inclinatis impressae –, in hanc collectionem receptae sunt. Qua de causa legentibus suaserimus – agitur enim perpetuo de rebus notatu vere dignis –, ut hanc materiarum perquam diversarum congeriem perlegant totam integramque. Unum tamen hic reputandum est, et quidem Rufinum, utpote virum non magni ingenii, minus operibus de sua penu promendis quam scriptis Graecorum, Origenis Eusebii Gregorii Nazianzeni aliorum, Latine vertendis incubuisse, ut ad eius sermonis proprietatem recte pleneque describendam praecipue in rationes quibus Graeca Latinitate donaverit inquirendum sit. Talis investigationis, studiosis historiae linguae Latinae non minus utilis necessariaeque quam iis qui doctrinae Christianae philosophiaeque historiam eruere sibi proposuerunt, fundamenta iecerunt H. Hoppe (Glotta 26 (1937), 132–144; Studi dedicati alla memoria di Paolo Ubaldi (Mediolani 1937), 133–150), G. Bardy (Recherches de science religieuse 1940, 294–301), B. Altaner (Hist. Jahrb. d. Görres-Gesellschaft 61 (1941), 208–210); sed substructionibus multo latioribus fundandum est aedificium, in quod recipi par est materias magno studio a v. d. Simonetti congestas.

Quod ad ipsam textus constitutionem pertinet, pauca tantum hic observari velimus. Pro vero habere non possumus Rufinum in Apologia contra Hieronymum II 12, vs. 6 scripsisse *immemor sui fit* (sc. Hieronymus) *et a ratione diuoluitur;* cum libris C N_2 g et editoribus *deuoluitur* legendum erit; prorsus alia est enim vis verbi quod est *divolvere* (cf. e.g. Amm. Marc. XXVI 4, 3: *multa secum ipse divolvens*), et a vero prorsus alienum videtur Rufinum iam *divolvor* pro *devolvor* scripsisse, sicut in extrema antiquitate *discendo* etc. scribi solebat. Neque editori astipulor ibid. vs. 20, ubi de suppliciis a Deo peccatoribus illatis agitur, legenti: *quae Deus non tam irascentis infert unicuique commotione . . . quam medentis et causantis affectu.* Hic *ex causantis* habent libri K B I L M P, *excusantis* G H O R l, *ex curantis* N, *et curantis* F g et editores, denique *et causantis* codex recentior qui est Ambros. C 289 inf. Sermonis cohaerentia *et curantis* ut legatur exigit, *causari* enim, hoc est culpam alicui tribuere, ad prius potius quam ad alterum sententiae colon quadrat. Paulo plura addere possumus, quae tamen intra breve spatium libro iudicando statutum minus facile

acu tangi possunt. Qua de causa hac re in posterum dilata ultra limites progredi nolumus et editori opus utilissimum bene peractum gratulamur.

Leiden, Witte Singel 91 J. H. WASZINK

Jean Chrysostome, *Sur la Providence de Dieu*. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes de Anne-Marie Malingrey (Sources Chrétiennes, No. 79), Paris, Les Editions du Cerf, 1961. 290 pp. Pr. NF 19,50.

Exactement dix années après l'apparition du traité *Sur l'Incompréhensibilité de Dieu* de S. Jean Chrysostome (Sources Chrétiennes, 1951), voilà de nouveau dans la même collection une édition excellente d'un des derniers ouvrages du grand Père de l'Eglise.

Une introduction claire place l'œuvre dans l'ambiance des dernières années de l'exil dur dans l'Arménie, peu après 400 et montre que le texte est contemporain des lettres à Olympias. Au fond de l'Arménie et dans les derniers jours de sa vie terrestre, Jean écrit encore une fois, en se laissant aller à cette éloquence qui avait enchanté sa jeunesse, pour les fidèles de Constantinople persécutés. Et le résultat est un témoignage spontané d'une expérience intérieure, qui est ni homélie, ni lettre, ni traité, mais plutôt l'un et l'autre tour à tour. Pour la démonstration l'appel est fait tantôt à la raison, tantôt à la foi pour aboutir au même point; l'homme doit s'incliner devant le mystère de Dieu. Le grand prédicateur lutte avec le problème de tous les temps: la prospérité des méchants et les souffrances des justes.

Ce qui est bien curieux: même au milieu des misères et de la vie dure de l'Arménie le grand orateur n'oublie jamais l'art de la parole, appris à l'école des rhéteurs. Les jeux oratoires auxquels il se livre sont communs à toute la littérature de IVe siècle. Et cependant (et ça, c'est la grandeur du Chrysostome), c'est un message personnel, c'est le résultat d'une réflexion profonde sur deux problèmes inextricables: celui de la Providence et celui de la souffrance. Une vieille tradition philosophique et religieuse lui aide d'établir la preuve de la bonté divine en contemplant l'ordre du monde. C'est le thème qui avait été déjà développé dans les homélies *Sur l'Incompréhensibilité de Dieu*. Notre texte nous donne aussi un document sur la situation matérielle et morale de l'Eglise de Constantinople dans la première décade du Ve siècle.

La tradition manuscrite est exposé très détaillée et très claire. Les recherches de l'éditrice ont permis d'identifier soixante manuscrits du texte de notre traité. L'éditrice nous montre clairement que l'édition critique des œuvres de Jean Chrysostome, entreprise avec les moyens de la technique moderne, n'en est qu'à ses débuts.

Elle a parfaitement raison quand elle dit que le classement qu'elle a fait des manuscrits pourra servir de point de départ aux futurs éditeurs d'autres œuvres du Chrysostome, p.e. de son *De sacerdotio*. Nous souhaitons pour la savante éditrice du traité en question, qu'il lui sera donné bientôt d'éditer de la même manière excellente et précise le traité sur la sacerdoce qui est tellement important pour la connaissance de la pensée théologique du Chrysostome.

Le texte qui nous est donné ici est pur, la traduction est exacte dans une langue claire, les notes expliquent suffisamment quelques passages plus ou moins difficiles. Peut-être une petite remarque: dans le commencement du chapitre III on aurait pu donner une remarque pour tirer l'attention sur la saveur liturgique de tout ce passage. Est-ce que les mots *τὸ μυστικὸν μέλος* (§ 3) ne seraient pas empruntés à la prière liturgique? Et chez les mots *Θεὸς γὰρ οὐ κάθηται, οὐδὲ θρόνῳ περιέχεται, οὐδὲ τόπῳ περιείληπται* (III, 2) on peut penser à un passage analogue dans les œuvres du Ps. Dionyse l'Aréopagite (*Hierarchia Caelestis* II, 1). Une question intéressante: est-ce qu'il existe peut-être pour cette idée une source commune? Encore une petite remarque à propos de VII, 37. Nous y lisons sur «la mère de tous les biens, l'humilité», *τὴν μητέρα τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὴν ταπεινοφροσύνην*. Ce mot *ταπεινοφροσύνη* est très remarquable et de grande importance pour toute la littérature ascétique byzantine.

L'index de mots grecs est très important pour le vocabulaire du Chrysostome. Nous y voyons comment la théologie apophatique est essentielle pour la pensée de notre auteur.

Dordrecht, Vest 201 P. J. G. A. Hendrix

Léon le Grand, *Sermons*, Tome III. Traduction et notes de Dom René Dolle (Sources chrétiennes, No. 74). Paris, Les Éditions du Cerf, 1961. 165 pp. (numeris 14/161 bis numeratis). Pret. 15,60 NF.

In huius periodici volumine duodecimo (1958), pp. 109–110, de optimae huius editionis ratione ac dispositione tractavimus deque eius parte secunda iudicium egimus. En iam tertium volumen, quo continentur sermones de passione Domini undeviginti, de resurrectione Domini duo, de ascensione Domini duo, denique de Pentecoste tres. Quarto volumine editio integra absolvetur.

Quas parti secundae laudes tribuimus, et quidem praecipue cum propter versionem francogallicam accurate nitideque factam tum ob commentationes, quibus quaecumque ad textum recte intellegendum necessaria sunt debita cura elucidantur, eas in tertio hoc volumine examinando iudicandoque iterari par est. Summam enim operam dedit editor, ut eloquentiae Leoninae cum gravitatem tum

subtilitatem stilo francogallico non minus concinno limatoque redderet. Accedit quod, nescio an magis adhuc quam in secundo suae editionis fasciculo, lectorem locorum similium in aliorum Patrum operibus extantium admonere solet; inter quos primo loco nominandi sunt – et nominantur – Ambrosius et Augustinus, ut quos Leo Magnus non raro, ita tamen, ut numquam in sive utriusque sive unius magistri verba iuraret, ad munus dogmatum explicandorum rite implendum adhibuerit. Praeterea cum in praefatione tum in annotationibus optime ostendit, quomodo auctor ad doctrinam Christianam cura quam maxima exprimendam impulsus sit necessitate dogmata haereticorum expugnandi; e quorum numero praecipue memorandi sunt Manichaei, qui, utpote materiam per se malam autumantes, Deum nullo modo cum ea coniungi posse eaque de causa Christi corpus phantasma eiusque passionem simulatam esse contenderant, et sectatores Apollinaris Laodicensis, qui Christi naturam humanam anima, ut in cuius locum Verbum divinum successisset, carere pro vero habuerunt. Ex re videtur hoc loco iterare quae de doctrine Leonina optime in praefatione (pp. 9–10) observat auctor: "En face des tentatives d'explication humaine, il affermait la rigueur et la transcendance du mystère, qui, en même temps qu'il force l'esprit à s'élever par la foi jusqu'à l'absolu divin, assure seul le salut par la rédemption; car si l'homme en Jésus est mutilé et incomplet, l'homme n'est pas entièrement sauvé, et, si la Divinité est diminuée par l'humiliation de l'humanité, ce n'est pas vraiment Dieu qui intervient, et le salut, là encore, n'est pas acquis."

Denique praecipua laude dignus est editor, quod satis frequenter locos ex Scriptura Sacra a Leone adductos non tantum memorat, sed de singulorum interpretationibus a Patribus Occidentalibus propositis paulo fusius agit, ut, quibuscum sua interpretatione consentiat auctor, a quibus vero dissentiat, perspici possit. Vere sperandum est aliis editoribus praeclarum hoc exemplum imitantibus operis studiis patristicis perquam necessarii, hoc est historiae interpretationis Sacrae Scripturae iuxta singulos versus digestae, gradatim fundamenta iaci posse.

Pauca quae annotemus habemus. Quamquam textus horum sermonum fundamento satis certo stabilitus est, ut non esset, cur in hac saltem editione (qua non in primis id agitur, ut nova textus forma proponatur) a Ballerinorum editione discederetur, hic illic tamen interpunctiones verborum, saeculo duodevicesimo solitas familiaresque quidem, a nostro vero alienas, immutari oportuerat, ut in serm. de pass. 4, 2 (p. 91, l. 4), ubi in media sententia secundaria post *Ego sum* comma, non semicolon, poni par erat (similiter in serm. de resurr. 1, 3, p. 125, l. 9–10, et saepius). – Debito liberius versa esse videtur haec sententia (serm. de resurr. 2, 2, p. 130), *Quod ergo in omnibus hominibus transfusio erat damnationis,*

hoc in Christo sacramentum est pietatis: "Ce qui, chez tous les hommes, était l'héritage d'une condamnation est donc, dans le Christ, un moyen sacré aux mains de sa bonté". Verum est Leonem vocabulo quod est *transfusio* non proprie (ut voces *tradux* et *traducere* usurpare solebat Tertullianus), sed per imaginem usum esse, sed ipsa haec imago quae francogallice verteretur digna erat. — In serm. de Pentecoste 3, 1 (p. 157, l. 9) pro *copiosus* legendum est *copiosius*.

Denique rogare liceat, ut in ultimo quarto volumine editor indices lectoribus praebeat quibus enumerentur cum loci Scripturae Sacrae a Leone adducti tum vocabula Latinitatis sive solius Leonis sive eius aetatis propria.

Leiden, Witte Singel 91 J. H. WASZINK

P. Stockmeier, *Leo I. des Grossen Beurteilung der kaiserlichen Religionspolitik*. Münchener Theologische Studien, I. Historische Abteilung, 14. Band. München, Max Hüeber Verlag, 1959. 226 SS. DM 16.–.

Das Urteil des Papstes Leo des Grossen (440–461) über die kaiserliche Religionspolitik wird in dieser Arbeit sehr klar dargelegt. Im ersten Abschnitt wird die Stellung des Kaisers im fünften Jahrhundert behandelt; das Verhältnis zwischen religiöser und politischer Gewalt erhält eine rückschauende Betrachtung, in der die Verbindung mit hellenistisch-römischen Vorstellungen sehr deutlich zu Tage tritt. (Die Princeps-Idee, zum Beispiel, ist zum Teil altrömisches Gedankengut, das die Stellungnahme des Papstes zur kaiserlichen Religionspolitik befruchtet.) Was der Papst vom Kaiser erwartet, ist im Hauptabschnitt (S. 75–173) ausführlich dargestellt: die Stellung des Kaisers zu Kirche und Religion, seine Sorge für die Kirche als Diener Gottes und Verteidiger des Glaubens, seine Verpflichtung, die Ketzer zu unterdrücken *(comprimere)*, zu strafen, sogar zu töten. Andrerseits die Herrschaft des Kaisers in der Kirche als Priesterkönig, dessen Mitverantwortung für die Disziplin in der Kirche sich bisweilen geltend macht.

Der dritte Teil enthält eine Zusammenfassung der formenden Ideen in Leos Urteil: die Vorstellung von der *Universalis Ecclesia*, die Einheit der Kirche, der Dienst der Kirche am Staat, die Eigenständigkeit der (christlichen) Religion, speziell in der Frage des päpstlichen Primats. Das Buch endet mit einer irenischen Zeichnung des Seelenhirten, des Papstes als *Pastor ovium*.

Ich möchte, obgleich ich das Verdienst dieses Buches gerne anerkenne, dennoch meine prinzipiellen Bedenken nicht verschweigen. Es ist zunächst deutlich, dass der Verf. grosse Mühe hat, der Praxis des 5. Jahrhunderts gerecht zu werden. Er bewundert Leo und

seine Gedanken, kann aber kritische Aussagen nicht unterdrücken und treibt alsdann Apologie (S. 93–94, 121, 146). Das schlagendste Beispiel findet sich S. 152: die recht fragwürdige Diplomatie, von der Leos Anschauungen über die Unfehlbarkeit des Kaisers in Glaubenssachen Zeugnis ablegen. Verf. lehnt Rettungsversuche moderner Gelehrten ab, m.E. ganz zurecht. Ich gebe ihm zu, dass die Formulierungen Leos in dieser Hinsicht die Anschauungen seiner Zeit und die Überzeugung des Papstes selbst ausdrücken. Verf. will aber teilweise seinen Helden „retten": „Gefasst im Stile einer geformten Kanzleisprache tragen seine Äusserungen manchmal den Charakter antiker Amplificatio; daraus sind wohl Zuspitzungen in seinen Theorien zu erklären" (S. 152). Am Ende des zweiten Abschnitts heisst es aber: „Wenn auch manche Wendungen im Stile rhetorischer Fülle geformt sind, so berechtigt dies keineswegs, ihren Aussageinhalt zu entleeren" (S. 173). Dies sind zwei ganz verschiedene Massstäbe für die Interpretation der Briefe. Das erste Zitat ist des Verf. Behandlung der kaiserlichen Inspiration entnommen – hier will er den Papst entschuldigen [1] – ; das zweite stellt die ernste Überzeugung Leos ins Licht, dass der weltliche Herrscher *custos fidei* sein soll. Es ist dem Verf. nicht gelungen, zu zeigen, wo und wann wir, Leos Briefe lesend, mit dem ersten oder dem zweiten Massstab zu messen haben.

Ein Mangel ist weiter noch, dass wohl die Kirche und die kirchliche Disziplin auf ihre Rechnung kommen, nicht aber die Häretiker und die politische Geschichte des fünften Jahrhunderts. Von Beurteilung im kritischen Sinne kann bisweilen die Rede sein [2], nicht aber von einer Zeichnung von Leos Stellungnahme vor dem Hintergrunde des zeitgeschichtlichen Rahmens, – was der Verleger im Geleitbrief versprochen hatte. Wer die *Vita Constantini*, wie der Verf. es tut, seinen Untersuchungen von den Verhältnissen zwischen Kirche und Staat zugrundelegt, *muss* wohl auf Irrwege geraten. Niemals hat Konstantin der Grosse, wie Eusebius es ihm in den Mund legt, „sich seines Bekenntnisses des siegverleihenden Kreuzes gerühmt und mit allem Freimut auch den Römern die Kunde vom Sohne Gottes gebracht". Das ist Priestermache des Eusebius, dessen Einfluss enorm gewesen ist, aber dessen *Vita Constantini* ein Schulbeispiel bleibt von der Speichelleckerei, der die Briefe und das zielbewusste Handeln Leos widersprechen.

Leiden, De Laat de Kanterstr. 15b W. DEN BOER

[1] „Der Papst kann (aber) nicht anders schreiben, weil er an seine Zeit mit dem ihr eigenen Denken gebunden ist", – diesen Worten kann ich ganz beistimmen.

[2] Zum Beispiel SS. 93–94, 121, 146.

Orienzio, Carme Esortativo (Commonitorium). Testo con introduzione e traduzione di Carmelo A. Rapisarda. Centro di Studi sull'Antico Cristianesimo. Università di Catania. 1960. XII, 36 pp. (numeris 2/32 bis numeratis).

Optime meritus est de Orientio v. d. Carmelus Rapisarda, ut qui quattuor ante annis textus editionem cum accuratam tum felici acumine in variis lectionibus et coniecturis priorum editorum iudicandis insignem in lucem ediderit (conferas quaeso iudicium quod de ea egit P. Courcelle, Rev. Ét. Lat. 36 (1958), 372–373), nunc vero carminis versionem italicam cum brevi introductione et bibliographia Orientiana publici iuris faciat. Orientius cum in Commonitorio suo – si licet more usitato hoc carmen titulo ipsi poetae certo non debito designare – brevis esse laborans non raro obscurus fiat, haec translatio magna religione ac diligentia facta ad poetae versus recte intellegendos auxilium praebet minime spernendum. Raro tantum adducimur, ut a Rapisardae versione dissentiamus. In ipso carminis initio *(Quisquis ad aeternae festinus praemia vitae, perpetuanda magis quam peritura cupis)* quod hoc modo italice redditur: "Se sei tutto proteso verso le ricompense della vita eterna, se brami beni durevoli anziché perituri", hypotaxis parataxi a translatore adhibitae praeferenda esse videtur; *festinus* enim perspicue id quod *utpote festinans* valet, qua de causa etiam post *vitae* comma deleri par est. – Nimis breviter in I 396 vocabula *ancipiti . . . in bivio* per "nella scelta della vita" versa sunt, cum praesertim *anceps* iuxta *bivium* positum non merus pleonasmus esse videatur. – In II 41 *Fallere crede nefas* non erat cur verteretur: "Ingannare non e lecito, credimi!" Additioni pronominis personalis nullus hic locus est; poeta versum notissimum Iuvenalis imitatur (8, 83: *Summum crede nefas animam praeferre pudori*). Tales vero quisquiliae minime obstant quo minus hanc translationem interpretationis subsidium utilissimum iudicemus.

Quamquam verum est Orientii carmen a viris doctis aliquanto minus neglectum esse quam ceterorum poetarum Christianorum carmina, tamen commentario quam maxime nobis opus est in quo cum proprietas sermonis Orientiani tum rationes inter Commonitorium et alia carmina Latina cum Christiana tum pagana intercedentes illustrentur elucidenturque. Cui operi perquam grato suscipiendo v. d. Rapisardam mox se accincturum esse speramus expectamusque.

Leiden, Witte Singel 91 J. H. Waszink

S. Jean Damascène, *Homélies sur la Nativité et la Dormition*. Texte grec, introduction, traduction et notes par Pierre Voulet, S.J. (Sources Chrétiennes, No. 80). Paris, Les Editions du Cerf, 1961. 212 pp. Pr. NF 14,70.

Une édition excellente de quatre homélies de S. Jean Damascène sur un thème très actuel dans l'Eglise romaine. La Mariologie moderne dans l'Eglise de Rome défère volontiers au Damascène, spécialement pour le nouveau dogme de l'Assomption corporelle de la Vierge. Voici le matériel pour s'en former une opinion. L'introduction, prèsque exclusivement théologique, entre profondement dans cette question.

Le livre nous donne quatre homélies Mariales, une sur sa Nativité et trois sur sa Dormition, curieusement le commencement (8 septembre) et la fin (15 août) de l'année liturgique. Dans l'homélie sur la Nativité S. Jean exalte spécialement le mystère de l'Incarnation et dans les trois homélies sur la Dormition il parle successivement de nouveau sur les merveilles de l'Incarnation, dont Marie a été l'instrument (1ière), sur la mort de Marie, ses funérailles, son tombeau, sa glorieuse assomption (2ième) et sur la célébration et la veillée religieuse autour du tombeau (3ième). Quand on se réalise, qu'il a prononcé ces homélies à Jérusalem, alors cette localisation explique certaines allusions et la tradition hiérosolymitaine de la Dormition. Cela explique aussi pourquoi on rencontre dans l'œuvre du Damascène à côté du courant théologique issu d'Ephèse et de Chalcédoine un autre courant, que le père V. nomme avec raison «le courant apocryphe» (p. 30). Le père V. montre aussi clairement que le Damascène se trouve partiellement dans «des traditions suspectes, mais dignes d'un grand intérêt par leur antiquité et leurs données essentielles» (p. 39), mais on n'est pas encore assuré que le Damascène se trouve dans la ligne de la Mariologie d'un S. Bernard ou d'un S. Pierre Canisius (p. 40).

La figure de Marie a chez le Damascène encore profondement sa valeur «symbolique», beaucoup plus que dans l'Eglise latine du Moyen âge. Dans la théologie orthodoxe le rôle de Marie a un aspect symbolique et exemplaire et par beaucoup de figures de l'Ancien Testament le mystère de Marie est déjà rapproché du mystère de l'Eglise.

Quand le père V. veut trouver dans ces homélies une doctrine absolument adéquate à la Mariologie moderne de l'Eglise romaine, il nous semble qu'il va trop loin. Le mot *ἀνάληψις (assumptio)* ne se rencontre pas ici, plus moins encore la combinaison des mots *ἀνάληψις σωματική (assumptio corporalis)*. En général faut-il être très prudent de ne pas interpréter des mots spéciaux par des mots latins du vocabulaire de l'Eglise romaine. P.e. *ἄχραντος* (qui se

rencontre quelques fois dans les homélies) n'est pas l'équivalent absolu du latin *immaculatus* (appliqué à la conception de la Vierge). *Ἄχραντος* dans la théologie orthodoxe sont aussi la Croix, les icones, les très Saints Mystères. Le *μεσιτεύειν* de l'homélie 1,8 est tout autre chose que la fonction de la *Mediatrix omnium gratiarum* de la Mariologie moderne de l'Eglise romaine. En général: la Mariologie orthodoxe a un accent qui diffère souvent essentiellement de la doctrine Mariale moderne de Rome. Ainsi faut-il voir une différence entre ce que le père V. nomme «la royauté de Marie» chez le Damascène et la *Regina universalis* romaine.

L'étude de la liturgie fournit des indices précieux dont les premiers remontent au Ve siècle. Celui qui cherche l'origine du vocabulaire liturgique lise avec attention ce que notre Damascène dit (hom. 2, 15) sur le *διασεύειν τὰ τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν ψευδονύμων θεῶν ὄργια*. Sous cet aspect il serait intéressant d'étudier minutieusement le vocabulaire de la fête du 15 août dans le *Μηνολόγιον*.

Peut-être le père V. aurait pu montrer quelle est la signification de nos homélies pour le développement de l'art des icones concernant le thème de la *Κοίμησις τῆς Θεοτόκου*. La soi-disante «histoire euthymiaque» (hom. 2, 18) donne toutes les données pour la curieuse icone de la fête du 15 août.

Comme nous l'avons déjà dit, toute l'introduction se meut sur le terrain théologique. Seulement trois pages traitent les éditions et le texte. Parce que de nos jours l'Institut byzantin de l'Abbaye bénédictine de Scheyern (Bavière) prépare une édition critique des œuvres complètes de S. Jean Damascène, le père V. n'a pas entrepris le travail complet d'établissement du texte (p. 42). Cependant tout théologien peut accepter avec reconnaissance l'édition de ces curieuses homélies que le père V. nous a donné: un texte pur avec une traduction fidèle et très bien lisible. On peut discuter sur quelques idées de l'introduction.

Dordrecht, Vest 201 P. J. G. A. Hendrix

Miloš M. Velimirovič, *Byzantine Elements in Early Slavic Chant* (Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Subsidia, Vol. IV). Copenhagen, Ejnar Munksgaard, 1960. 1. Pars principalis, XII+140 pp. 2. Pars suppletoria: The Hirmologion, Volume of Appendices, 8 pp.+ LXXV pp. of comparative charts of neumatic notation+12 pp. of photolithography of manuscripts. Pr. Dan.cr. 50.−.

1. Until recently nothing was known about Slavonic Christian chant in the middle ages. The neums of the oldest MSS. (12th, 13th cent.) had not been deciphered, although a relationship had been established between this script and the Byzantine neumatic

notation. In this field of research the work of Velimirovič has been that of a pioneer.

Receiving Christianity from the Greeks, the Slavonic peoples also took over Greek liturgical music. However, Slavonic differed so widely from Greek that, in the case of a literal rendering of the Greek words, the melodies were liable to show great deviations from the original Byzantine hymns. As might be expected, both types of music show a high degree of correspondence as regards their modal structure, the Slavonic "glasi" answering to the Byzantine "echoi"; the related type-melodies or "hirmoi" – which as to their ordering derive from Palestine – were taken over from the Greeks, although the linguistic differences led to the melodic variants mentioned above. It was especially the monks on Mount Athos who influenced the development of Slavonic liturgical music.

The problem constituted by the deciphering of the Slavonic neum notation in the oldest MSS. is a very difficult one. Not only do these neums fail to indicate pitch – as was also the case in the adiastematic notation of the west – but neither was there a vocal tradition, as in plainsong, by which older neums could be interpreted in the light of later notations of melodies. The author approaches this problem by starting from Byzantine melodic "formulae", of which we do know the melodic structure, and which partly correspond to certain Slavonic "formulae". It is true that this does not enable us to give a complete transcription of an early Slavonic hymn melody, but in this way it is possible to reconstruct, with the help of the neums, parts of some of the "hirmoi" of the early Slavonic rite. Such, at least, is the state of affairs at this moment, thanks to the work of Velimirovič.

These results are new and therefore an appreciation of their accuracy cannot be given without reservations. Yet the author's method and argumentation give evidence of sound scholarly procedure. Research based on "hirmoi" and "formulae" of the first mode is still in its infancy, but the present publication promises important results for the future.

2. This book, a companion volume to the work discussed above, gives parallel elaborations of a number of "odai" of the first mode according to the oldest Byzantine and Slavonic neum traditions with a transcription in modern notation. The work done here is of great interest to the student of musical palaeography who is concerned with these neum notations, as it clearly illustrates the relations and the differences between the two notations, as well as the development of the Byzantine neum system. The over 40 melodies given are closely related and built on a limited number of motifs, which makes for a consistency of style of the kind found in Gothic or Renaissance architecture. This style can even be

recognized in the melody in the third mode added at the end by Carsten Hoeg, as apart from adopting or working up certain motifs, its melodic structure is based on the contrasting-third series according to the functional melodic laws of the melody heard purely melodically, described more fully in "A Textbook of Melody, a course in functional melodic analysis" (The American Institute of Musicology, 1955). Twelve facsimiles of MSS used in the text have been added at the end of the book.

Amsterdam, Staalstraat 19 J. SMITS VAN WAESBERGHE

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DER HELIAND UND DAS THOMASEVANGELIUM

VON

G. QUISPEL

I. Der Heliand und das altlateinische Diatessaron

Der Heliand, ein altsächsisches Gedicht, das zwischen 830 und 840 geschrieben wurde und das Leben Christi erzählt, benutzt nicht die vier getrennten Evangelien, sondern eine lateinische Version von Tatians Diatessaron [1]. Dass diese lateinische Quelle nicht mit dem *Codex Fuldensis* identisch ist, geht aus der Tatsache hervor, dass sich zahlreiche Varianten des Heliand in anderen Versionen des Diatessarons finden, aber nicht in dem stark "vulgatisierten" *Codex Fuldensis* (=T^{1}) [2].

Besonders auffallend sind die Berührungen mit den niederländischen Fassungen, und zwar sowohl mit der Lütticher Handschrift (T^{nlL}) wie mit der Stuttgarter Handschrift (T^{nlS}). Ich gebe einige Beispiele, ohne nach Vollständigkeit zu streben.

Heliand	T^{nl}	N.T.
215:	L S:	L 1, 60:
thiu môdar *thes kindes*	*dis kinds* moeder	ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ
830:	L S:	L 2, 51:
+*Maria*	*Maria* syn moeder	ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ
766:	L:	Mt 2, 22:
+umbi *Hierusalem*	in *ihrl'm*	βασιλεύει
821:	L:	L 2, 48:
+*lioƀosto*	*lieve* kint	τέκνον
2200:	L:	L 7, 14:
+*handon*	mit sire *hāt*	ἤψατο
2319:	L S:	L 5, 20:
+*siakon* man	*siken*	ἄνθρωπε

[1] Text: O. Behaghel, *Heliand und Genesis* [6], Halle 1948. Uebersetzung: W. Stapel, *Der Heliand*, München 1953.

[2] W. Henss, *Niederdeutsches Jahrbuch* 77, S. 1ff.

Heliand	T^{nl}	N.T.
2777:	L S:	Mc 6, 26:
+*gihôrdun*	*hoerde*	om.
3552:	L S:	L 18, 36:
gihôrdon (plur.)	di gehorden (plur.)	*ἀκούσας* (cf Mt 20, 30)
3571:	S:	L 18, 40:
hêt *sie*	hiet*se*	*αὐτόν* (cf Mt 20, 32)
4781:	L:	Mt 26, 41 (M 14, 38):
min gêst	*myn* gheest	*τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα*
5142:	L:	J 18, 28:
iro pascha	*har* paschen	*τὸ πάσχα*
5208:	L S:	J 18, 34:
thi ôðre	*di* andre	*ἄλλοι*
5237:	L:	L 23, 4:
dôðes uuirðig	cause van der *doet*	*αἴτιον*
	S:	J 18, 38:
	saken der *doot*	*αἰτίαν*

Diese Übereinstimmungen sind zu zahlreich um zufällig zu sein. Sie zeigen, dass die lateinische Vorlage des niederländischen Diatessarons, das im 13. Jahrhundert entstanden sein mag, einige Sondervarianten enthielt, welche auch in die lateinische Quelle des Heliand durchgedrungen sind. Allerdings ist es auch möglich, dass nur diese zwei Versionen ältere Lesungen bewahrt haben, welche mir wenigstens bis heute von sonstwo nicht bekannt sind. Eingehendes Studium und neue Entdeckungen im Gebiet der Diatessaronforschung können noch manche Überraschungen ergeben. Aber einstweilen können wir schon feststellen: der Heliand zeigt, dass das niederländische Diatessaron lateinische Sonderlesungen bewahrt hat, welche älter sind als ± 800 n. Chr.; das niederländische Diatessaron dagegen zeigt, dass die lateinische Vorlage des Heliand nicht mit dem *Codex Fuldensis* identisch ist.

Dass diese Übereinstimmungen nun nicht zufällig entstanden oder der Freiheit der Bearbeiter zuzuschreiben sind, zeigen die Fälle, wo der Heliand nicht nur mit dem niederländischen Diatessaron, sondern auch mit der englischen *Pepysian Harmony* (T^{pep}) Verbindungen aufzeigt:

Heliand	$T^{pep} + T^{nl}$	N.T.
261:	Pep:	L 1, 42:
for	*more . . . þan*	*ἐν γυναιξίν*
	L:	
	boven	
3091:	Pep:	Mt 16, 21:
fan dôde	arise *from deþ*	*ἐγερθῆναι*
	L S:	
	opherstaen *van der doet*	
3692:	Pep:	L 19, 42:
the thi noh	þat þai nysten	*τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην*
giuuerðen sculun	L S:	
	wat di nakende es	

Dass diese Varianten nun wirklich auf eine lateinische Vorlage zurückgehen, zeigt der Kommentar von Zacharias Chrysopolitanus, welcher als Zeuge für einen lateinischen Text des Diatessarons benutzt werden darf.

Der Heliand liest v. 3691–3692: *thes thu te uuârun ni uuêst thea wurðegiskefti, the thi noh giuuerðen sculun* (Übers. W. Stapel: denn wahrlich, Du kennst nicht die Wurdbestimmungen, die Dir noch werden sollen). Das weicht sehr ab von Lukas 19, 42: *εἰ ἔγνως ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ καὶ σὺ τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην*. Es stimmt aber überein mit Zach. 365 B C: fleres, si cognovisses haec *superventura* mala. Ebenso schreibt Zach. 54 C: *super* omnes feminas (cf. Heliand 261).

Die *Pepysian Harmony* scheint aus dem Französischen übersetzt zu sein. Zacharias Chrysopolitanus lebte in Besançon. Deshalb muss man sich fragen, ob diese lateinische Vorlage des Heliand, oder einer ihrer Ahnen, sich nicht einmal in Frankreich befand.

Aber das kann doch nicht die Urheimat des Textes sein, oder man würde annehmen müssen, dass die Vorlagen des venetianischen und des toscanischen Diatessarons, mit welchen der Heliand einiges gemein hat, nach Italien importiert worden sind. Weil nun die Geschichte des Diatessarons im Abendlande noch unklar ist, lassen wir diese Frage ganz beiseite, stellen aber fest, dass Verbindungen irgendwie vorliegen.

Heliand	Ital.	alii	N.T.
302 *halon im te hîuuon* (heimholen als seine Ehefrau).	T^{ven}: *menar a caxa*	T^{nlL}: *in sine gheselscap* *ontfaan*	Mt 1, 19: δειγματίσαι
315: forlêti	T^{ven}: lasarla T^{tos}: lasciare	T^{nlL}: ontflin T^{pep}: leten hire	Mt 1, 19: ἀπολῦσαι
1102–1103: te mi . . . mi	T^{ven}: me . . . me	T^{nl}: mi . . . mi	Mt 4, 9: μοι
1661: lusta thes lîchamon	T^{ven}: mondo	T^{nlL}: quader verwentheit T^{nlS}: quader werelt	Mt 6, 24/L 16, 13: μαμωνᾷ
2136: restien	T^{tos}: riposerannosi	T^{nlLS}: rosten T^{pep}: ben in rest Althd: ruent Zach. 173 D: requiescent	Mt 8, 11: ἀνακλιθήσονται
2258: +gibod	T^{ven}: +comandamento	T^{nlL}: +geboden	Mt 8, 26: om.

Man kann nun leicht feststellen, dass die lateinische Vorlage des Heliand nicht wie der Text des *Codex Fuldensis* beinahe völlig der *Vulgata* angepasst war, sondern altlateinische Lesarten enthielt, welche manchmal schon früh zu belegen sind.

Heliand	V. Lat.	alii	N.T.
516: *gode* thionode	e: domino gat: *deo*	deo D E P L R T^{nlLS}: dinde *Gode* T^{pep}: served *God*	L 2, 37: λατρεύουσα

Heliand	V. Lat.	alii	N.T.
2257: *hêt*	a aur b c d ff^1 g^1 h l q: *imperavit*	T^{nILS}: *geboet* T^{pep}: *comaunded* T^{ven}: comandao T^{tos}: comandò	Mt 8, 26: *ἐπετίμησεν*

Diese wenigen Beispiele scheinen nicht zu genügen, um unsere These zu beweisen. Es müssen aber auch die Lesarten herangezogen werden, welche nicht nur in den altlateinischen Kodizes, sondern auch in der orientalischen Tradition belegt sind. Denn wenn auch ihre Herkunft noch nicht festgestellt worden ist, – wenn sie sich im Heliand finden, müssen sie in einer lateinischen Version des Diatessarons gestanden haben. Und das einzige, was wir zu beweisen versuchen, ist eben, dass diese Version Varianten enthielt, welche, soweit uns bekannt, nicht in den Handschriften der *Vulgata*, sondern ausschliesslich oder primär in den sogenannten altlateinischen Kodizes enthalten sind. Später sollen dann auch die anderen Belegstellen genannt werden.

Heliand	Vet. Lat.	N.T.
250: an Galilealand	d: in civitatem Galilaeam	L 1, 26: *εἰς πόλιν τῆς Γαλιλαίας*
258: grôtte	e a ff^2 r^1: benedixit	L 1, 28: *εἶπεν*
	b: evangelizavit	
	l: benedixit et evangelizavit	
272–273: ni *uuard* uuîs	aur l: non cognovi	L 1, 34: *οὐ γινώσκω*
365–367: Siu *uuarun* . . . beðiu	e: ess*ent*	L 2, 4: *εἶναι αὐτόν*

Heliand	Vet. Lat.	N.T.
710–711: ansprang *Ioseph*	a b c g^1 q: surgens autem *Ioseph*	Mt 2, 14: *ὁ δὲ ἐγερθείς*
774: nu the cuning ni *liƀod*	a: defunc*tus* est	M 2, 20: *τεθνήκασιν*
1432–1433: sprecan uuorduuîse man	a c: dictum est *ab* antiquis	Mt 5, 21: *ἐρρέθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις*
2896: *hêt*	a aur b c f ff^1 ff^2 g^1 h l q: *iussit*	Mt 14, 22: *ἠνάγκασεν*
3128: *snêu*	e a aur b c d f ff^1 ff^2 g^1 l n (r^1): *nix*	Mt 17, 2: *φῶς*
5515: *uuiƀ*	c d f r^1: mulier*es*	L 23, 27: *γυναικῶν*

Diese Beispiele dürften genügen um zu zeigen, dass der Heliand auf einem altlateinischen Diatessaron beruht. Es ist natürlich wahr, dass diese Vorlage nicht erhalten ist. Deshalb kann man nicht immer beweisen, dass die Wortwahl des Dichters von seiner Quelle bestimmt ist und nicht der dichterischen Freiheit oder der Beachtung des Stabreims usw. zu verdanken ist. Aber kann in allen Fällen die Übereinstimmung als Zufall bezeichnet werden? Ist es nicht vielmehr Aufgabe der Wissenschaft, Sinn und Zusammenhang zu entdecken, wo der Laie nur Zufall wahrzunehmen meint? Und kann eine unparteiische Beobachtung, welche mit den Methoden der Diatessaronforschung und ihren Resultaten einigermassen vertraut ist, ander tun als sich wundern, dass dieser Zusammenhang nicht schon viel früher entdeckt worden ist?

Das oben gebotene Material genügt um zu zeigen, dass der Heliand nicht auf einer vulgatisierten Evangelienharmonie, sondern auf einem altlateinischen Diatessaron beruht. Man sollte denken, dies nur einmal sagen zu müssen, damit die Einsichtigen es verstehen.[3] Es sei hier zum zweiten Male gesagt, und bewiesen.

[3] *Some Remarks on the Gospel of Thomas*, N.T.S. 5, S. 283–286.

II. Der Heliand und die orientalischen Diatessarons

Allerdings erhebt sich dann die schwierige Frage, inwiefern diese altlateinische Fassung noch die ursprüngliche Gestalt von Tatians Meisterwerk erhalten hat. Wir wissen nicht, wann diese altlateinische Version erstmalig verfasst worden ist. Auch ist es uns unbekannt, aus welcher Sprache diese übersetzt worden ist. Weiter ist es möglich, dass sie Lesarten aufgenommen hat, welche nicht in dem zu übersetzenden Text gestanden haben.

Dieser Text hatte auch schon eine lange Geschichte hinter sich, wenn man annimmt, dass Tatian etwa 170 in Edessa oder doch in Mesopotamien sein "erstes Leben Jesu" schrieb. So bleibt vieles unklar. Allerdings wagen wir dies zu sagen: wenn der Heliand mit den orientalischen Zweigen des Diatessarons übereinstimmt, oder mit den syrischen Bibelübersetzungen gegen den griechischen Text der Evangelien, wie der in einer modernen Ausgabe geboten wird, darf man im Allgemeinen sagen, dass kein Zufall vorliegt, sondern dass im Heliand uralte Tradition aufbewahrt ist.

Zuerst sei dann gezeigt, dass der Heliand viele Varianten mit dem persischen Diatessaron (T^p) und mit dem arabischen Diatessaron (T^a) gemein hat.[4]

Heliand	Arab. Perz.	alii	N.T.
180–181: quam . . . ût *fon them alaha*	T^p: uscl *dal tempio*	T^{nlL}: *uten temple* quam	L 1, 22: *ἐξελθών*
		T^{nlS}: uut ghinc *van den temple*	
250: an *Galilealand*	T^p: *in Galilea*	d: in civitatem *Galilaeam*	L 1, 26: *εἰς πόλιν τῆς Γαλιλαίας*
	T^a: *en Galilée*		

[4] T^p und T^a werden in der Übersetzung von G. Messina (Rom 1951) und A. S. Marmardji (Beyrouth 1935) angeführt; T^c in der Uebersetzung von L. Leloir (Löwen 1954); Syr^{sc} in der Übersetzung von F. C. Burkitt.

Heliand	Arab. Perz.	alii	N.T.
256: +the engil godes	T^{p}: l'angelo T^{a}: l'ange	T^{nlL} T^{nlS} T^{ven} T^{tos}	L 1, 28 om.
272–273: ni *uuarð* uuis	T^{p}: giunse T^{a}: a connu	Pesh: non est cognitus mihi aur 1: non cognovi T^{nlL}: schuldig en *was*	L 1, 34: *οὐ γινώσκω*
668: +*Thô*	T^{p}: *allora*	T^{nlL}: *Doe*	Mt 2, 11: *καί*
700: *godes engil cumen*	T^{p}: *l'angelo di Dio* venne	T^{nlL}: *quam dingel*	Mt 2, 13: *φαίνεται*
769: *godes* engil	T^{p}: l'angelo di *Dio*	T^{ven}: l'angelo de *Dio* T^{tos} T^{nlS}	Mt 2, 19: *ἄγγελος Κυρίου*
774: the cuning ni liƀod	T^{p}: perì colui (sing.)	a: defunctus est	Mt 2, 20: *τεθνήκασιν* (plur.)
989: *quam* . . . uuord	T^{p}: una voce *venne*	T^{nlL}: quam T^{pep} T^{ven}	Mt 3, 17 par.: *ἰδοὺ φωνή*
1432–1433: ge hôrdun it oft sprecan uuord-uuîse man	T^{p}: dissero gli antichi	a c: *ab* antiquis T^{ven}: *da* li antichi [T^{nl}]	Mt 5, 21: *τοῖς ἀρχαίοις*
1573: *uuillean* biddean	T^{p}: *vuoi* compiere la tua preghiera	T^{ven}: *voli* orare	Mt 6, 6: *προσεύχῃ*
1622: *god*	T^{p}: *Dio*	T^{ven}: *Dio*	Mt 6, 15: *ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν*
1678–1679: *mohte* . . . auuinnan	T^{p}: *potè* vestirsi		Mt 6, 29: *περιεβάλετο*

Im allgemeinen geht die Diatessaronforschung von der Regel aus, dass eine Variante, welche sich sowohl im östlichen wie im westlichen Zweig der Tradition findet, eine echte Lesart Tatians darstellen muss. Das lässt sich natürlich nie beweisen, solange das ursprüngliche Werk so gut wie völlig unbekannt ist. Aber immerhin gibt es doch einige Erscheinungen, die zu denken geben.

So liest der Heliand v. 2846, in der Darstellung der wunderbaren Speisung nach Joh. 6, 9: *Huat mag that thoh thesaru menigi* (Was kann das aber bei solcher *Menge* sein). Die lateinische Vorlage hat also: *in tantam turbam* statt *εἰς τοσούτους* gelesen. Das wird von T^{nILS} (uele volcs), T^{pep} (mychel folk) und T^{ven} (tanta multitudene) bestätigt. An sich wäre es möglich, dass das nur eine altlateinische Lesart war: der Kodex e liest nähmlich: *in tantam turbam*. Aber diese Lösung befriedigt nicht, weil auch das persische Diatessaron die selbe Variante hat: per questa *gente*. Weil das persische Diatessaron auf einer syrischen Vorlage beruht, muss man annehmen, dass diese Lesart auch einmal in einem syrischen Diatessaron gestanden hat. Ausserdem ist es eine Harmonisierung mit derselben Geschichte in Mt 15, 33 (*ὄχλον τοσοῦτον*). Ist es nun nicht ganz nach der Art Tatians, durch solche künstlichen Harmonisierungen den Zusammenhang zwischen Joh. 6, 9 und Mt 15, 33 anzudeuten? Es wäre möglich, dass diese Variante wirklich auf Tatian zurückgeht.

Auch die Lesart von Heliand 1688–1689 will beachtet sein: *than uuili iu the rîkeo drohtin gebon mid alloro gôdu gehuuilicu* (Dann wird euch *der mächtige Herr* mit allen Gütern begaben). Was auffällt, ist die persönliche Fassung des Heliand und die Beziehung des Verbums auf Gott, während Mt 6, 33 ganz unpersönlich ist: *καὶ ταῦτα πάντα προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν*. Dass das kein Zufall ist, sondern eine Variante des lateinischen Textes wiedergibt, zeigt das venetianische Diatessaron: e poi *Dio* ve *darà* tute queste cosse temporali. Die selbe Variante liegt aber auch in dem persischen Diatessaron vor: e anche quello *vi darà* in soprappiù.

Dann ist es aber sehr gut möglich, dass diese Variante auch in einem syrischen Diatessaron stand. Und ist das nun Zufall? Oder hat jemand den Text verändert, der verstand, dass *προστεθήσεται* wirklich bedeutet, dass *Gott* gibt, dass diese unpersönliche Wendung aus der Scheu der Hebräer um den Gottesnamen zu erwähnen zu

erklären und also als Semitismus zu werten ist? Tatian, der Mesopotamier, der sowohl Griechisch wie Syrisch konnte, kann sehr wohl für diese sachgemässe Übersetzung verantwortlich sein.

Nur zögernd spricht man über die Beziehungen des Heliand zur armenischen Übersetzung von Ephrem Syrus' *Kommentar zum Diatessaron* (T^c). Man hat ja einen grossen Teil dieses Werkes in syrischer Sprache wiedergefunden; bis zur Veröffentlichung dieses Textes muss man mit Vorbehalt sprechen. Trotzdem kann man schon jetzt sagen, dass der Heliand mit T^c einige Berührungen aufweist, welche nicht zufällig sein können.

Der Heliand, v. 3071–3072, berichtet merkwürdigerweise, dass die Pforten der Hölle *Petrus* nicht überwältigen werden: *ni mugun uuiđ them thînun suîđeun crafte anthebbien hellie portun.* (Wider *deine* starke Kraft können sich die Pforten der Hölle nicht halten.) Das ist nun in vollkommenen Widerspruch zu Mt 16, 18, wo steht, dass sie *die Kirche* (*αὐτῆς*) nicht überwältigen werden. Und trotzdem geht die Variante auf eine Tradition zurück: denn im niederländischen Diatessaron von Stuttgart findet sich dasselbe (tjegen *di*). Also hat der Dichter des Heliand dies in seiner lateinischen Vorlage gefunden. Dass das aber wahrscheinlich auf Tatian zurückgeht, zeigt Ephrems Kommentar, T^c: et portae inferi *te* non superabunt.

Allerdings zeigt T^c in seiner heutigen Gestalt sich dann und wann weniger ursprünglich als T^p. Lukas 1, 38: *ἰδοὺ ἡ δούλη κυρίου* gibt T^p folgendermassen wieder: Io sono la serva di Dio, lässt also *ἰδού* weg und schreibt *θεοῦ* für *κυρίου*. Dasselbe bietet T^{nlL}: Ic *ben* de derne *gods*. Die letzte Variante haben auch T^{pep} (Lo me here *Goddes* honde magde) und T^{tos} (Ecco l'ancella di *Dio*). Gegen diese Übereinstimmung muss T^c wohl als sekundär betrachtet werden: *Ecce* sto ancilla *Domini*. Die ursprüngliche Lesart wird von T^p und T^{nl} erhalten sein.

In diesem Lichte muss man nun auch die Fassung des Heliand, v. 285: *Thiu bium* ic *theotgodes* (Magd bin ich des Grossgottes) betrachten. Ein Germanist, der die Diatessarontradition nicht kennt, würde diese Varianten folgendermassen erklären: die Anforderungen der Stabreimtechnik zwangen den Dichter, nach as. *thiu*, ancilla, auch für das Wort "dominus" seiner Quelle ein Wort zu suchen, das mit th anlautete; also *theotgodes*, das für sein Sprach-

empfinden etwas ähnliches bedeutete wie "dominus"; dass seine Quelle aber auf jeden Fall *ancilla* domini bot, verrät er noch dadurch, dass er *fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum* v. 285ff. folgendermassen wiedergibt: *Nu ik theses thinges gitrûon*; *uuerde mi aftar thînun uuordun, al sô is uuilleo sî, hêrron mînes*; (Nun traue ich diesem Dinge. Es geschehe mir nach Deinen Worten, wie es der Wille meines *Herrn* sein mag). Das könnte ein Germanist sagen, wenn er voraussetzt, dass der lateinische Diatessarontext des Heliand der Vulgata angeglichen war. Wir sahen, dass das nicht immer der Fall war. Genau die selben Varianten wie im Heliand finden sich in T^{p} und T^{n1}, was gewiss nicht den Anforderungen der Stabreimtechnik zu verdanken ist. Es ist wahrscheinlicher, dass das lateinische Diatessaron, das dem Heliand zugrunde liegt, dieselbe Varianten aufzeigte wie T^{p} und T^{n1}.

Der Heliand folgt bei der Darstellung der Kreuzigung im allgemeinen der Reihenfolge des *Codex Fuldensis*: "*Vas ergo positum erat aceto plenum* (Mt 27, 48) *et continuo currens unus ex eis acceptam spongiam implevit aceto*". Allerdings erinnert sich da der Dichter auch der Stelle Mt 27, 34: *οἶνον μετὰ χολῆς μεμιγμένον:* deshalb sagt er v. 5645–5646: *Habdun im unsuôti ecid endi galla gimengid* (hatten ihm unsüssen *Essig* und *Galle* gemengt). Was auffällt, ist, dass hier eben nicht von "Wein" gesprochen wird. Das ist im *Codex Fuldensis* wohl der Fall. Dagegen sagt T^{c}, wie der Heliand: dederunt ei bibere *acetum* et *fel*. Wir können beweisen, dass diese Lesung schon um 200 im Diatessaron stand. Die Thomasakten, welche um 225 in Edessa geschrieben wurden, und nicht die getrennten Evangelien sondern das Diatessaron Tatians benutzen, setzen dieselbe Lesart voraus (c. 158: *ἀντὶ . . . χολῆς — ἀντὶ ὄξους*). Dann aber ist es sehr wahrscheinlich, dass Tatian diese Lesung aufgenommen hat, weil er als Enkratit nicht sagen wollte, dass Jesus selbst in der Todesstunde Wein getrunken hat. Es scheint also höchst wahrscheinlich, dass der Heliand, wie T^{c}, die ursprüngliche Variante Tatians aufbewahrt hat.

III. Der Heliand und die syrische Tradition

Wir haben nun festgestellt, dass das persische und das arabische Diatessaron wie auch der Kommentar des Ephrem Syrus sehr viele Berührungen mit dem Heliand aufzeigen; es muss also einmal

ein lateinisches Diatessaron gegeben haben, das auf das Diatessaron Tatians zurückging und diese merkwürdigen Varianten noch enthielt.

Jetzt ist es unsere Aufgabe zu zeigen, dass der Heliand auch Beziehungen hat zur syrischen Evangelientradition, welche in den altsyrischen Bibelübersetzungen des *Syrus Sinaiticus* (Syr^{s}) und des *Syrus Curetonianus* (Syr^{c}), dann auch in der syrischen Vulgata der Peshitto (P) enthalten ist. Zunächst geben wir eine ziemlich ausführliche Liste von weniger wichtigen Varianten: diese sollen vor allem zeigen, dass wirklich der Heliand Beziehungen zu Syrien hat und dass nicht alle gemeinsamen Varianten als Zufall oder Ergebnis des Stabreims zu werten sind. Dann geben wir eine Diskussion der Lesarten, welche für die Beurteilung Tatians und der syrischen Verhältnisse wichtig sind.

Heliand	Syr.	Diat.	N.T.
302 thenkean	s c: meditated P: meditatus erat	T^{nlL}: pinsde T^{pep}: þouth T^{ven}: penssava T^{c}: excogitavit	Mt 1, 19: *ἐβουλήθη*
402: manno cunneas	s: all the world	T^{ar}: le monde entier	L 2, 10: *παντὶ τῷ λαῷ*
532: +Ioseph endi Maria	s: +Joseph and Mary	T^{nl} T^{tos} T^{ven}	L 2, 39: *ἐπέστρεψαν*
663: obar them *hûse*, thar	s: in the *place* where	T^{nlLS} T^{tos}: luogo T^{ven}: *caxa* T^{p} T^{a}	Mt 2, 9: *ἐπάνω οὗ*
711: +Ioseph	s c: +Ioseph	T^{nlLS} T^{ven} T^{tos} T^{p} T^{ar}	Mt 2, 14: *ὁ δέ*

Heliand	Syr.	Diat.	N.T.
2771: frâgode	[s: took counsel] Georg²: interrogavit	T^{n1LS}: vragde	M 6, 24: *εἶπεν*
2896–2897: hêt . . . gibôd	s c: commanded itala: iussit Althd.	T^{1} T^{n1LS} T^{pep} T^{ven} T^{tos} T^{pep}: comandò	Mt 14, 22: *ἠνάγκασεν*
3128: snêu	c: snow it. vulg. codd.	T^{1} T^{n1LS} T^{pep} T^{ven} T^{tos} T^{p} T^{ar}	Mt 17, 2: *τὸ φῶς*
3526: hêri (=Volk, sing.) (antijüdische Variante)	s: people		Mt 20, 19: *ἔθνεσιν*
3554: huil*ic* . . . man	s c: who? P: quisnam	T^{pep}: who? T^{c}: quis? T^{ar}: qui?	L 18, 36: *τί*
4812: *drôg* man fiur	s: *carrying*	T^{ar}: *portant*	J 18, 3: *μετὰ φανῶν*
5490: folc	s: a multitude	T^{n1LS}: volc T^{p}: gente	Mt 27, 28: *τὴν σπεῖραν*
5515: uuîƀ	s c: women c d f r^{1}: mulieres	T^{n1S}: wive T^{ar}: femmes	L 23, 27: *γυναικῶν*
5519: under bac besah (indic.)	s: turned round	T^{n1SL}: kerde	L 23, 28: *στραφείς*

Es muss anerkannt werden, dass nicht alle diese Parallelen denselben Wert haben. Die Möglichkeit ist nicht auszuschliessen, dass einige dem Zufall zu verdanken sind. Andererseits sind die Übereinstimmungen zu zahlreich, um *alle* zufällig zu sein. Es muss irgendwelcher Zusammenhang zwischen dem Heliand einerseits, der syrischen, abweichenden Evangelientradition andererseits bestehen. Wie ist dieser zu erklären? Das Verhältnis der altsyrischen Übersetzung zum Diatessaron ist umstritten.

Man neigt im algemeinen dazu, anzunehmen, dass das Diatessaron, um 170 nach Christus in Ost Syrien geschrieben, die Tradition des späteren *Curetonianus* und *Sinaiticus* beeinflusst hat. Das wird wohl nicht selten der Fall gewesen sein. Jedenfalls können wir sagen, dass, wo der Heliand mit der altsyrischen Bibelübersetzung übereinstimmt, der Heliand den Text bewahrt hat, der einmal in Syrien in Umlauf war und wahrscheinlich aus der Feder Tatians stammt. Es ist erlaubt, folgende Varianten als Tatianismen zu betrachten, welche sich im Heliand erhalten haben:

1. Der Heliand, v. 312–313, erzählt, wie Joseph, *der weise Mann, der sehr gute Herr*, (*the uuîso man, suiðo gôd gumo*), in seinem Herzen zu denken begann, wie er das Mädchen (Maria) heimlich verliesse. Es fällt auf, dass Joseph hier nicht als Mann der Maria dargestellt wird: dies gegen Mt 1, 19: *ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς, δίκαιος ὤν.* Durch eine sehr einfache Umstellung ist das erreicht: *ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς, δίκαιος ὤν ~ ἀνὴρ δίκαιος ὤν.* Das niederländische Diatessaron (hi en gherecht mensche was), der Pepysian Harmony, T^{ven} und T^{tos}, welche alle dieselbe Variante voraussetzen, bestätigen, dass das in der lateinischen Vorlage des Heliand stand. Allerdings muss das auf Tatian zurückgehen, denn T^{c} liest: quia vir iustus erat, T^{p} liest: era uomo timorato e puro, und Syr^{c}: now Joseph, because he was an upright man. Und man versteht, warum Tatian, der Enkratit, welcher die Ehe überhaupt verwarf, nicht zugeben wollte, dass Joseph der Mann Marias war. Diese enkratitische, tendenziöse Variante Tatians hat sich also auch im Heliand erhalten.

2. Aus derselben Tendenz kommt nun aber die Textänderung hervor, derzufolge es Josephs Wille war, sie (Maria) *heilig zu halten*: Hel. 332–333: *Uuas im uuilleo mikil, that he sia sô hêlaglîco haldan môsti.* Das ist eine Änderung von Mt 1, 25: *καὶ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν αὐτήν,* welche Worte für einen Enkratiten besonders anstössig

waren. Dass diese Lesart einmal in einem niederländischen Diatessaron gestanden hat, zeigt die "Rymbybel" des mittelalterlichen Dichters Jacob van Maerlant: "bleef met hare in suverhede" (cf. Plooy, *Liège Diatessaron*, p. 23). In der westlichen Tradition des Diatessarons ist der Heliand der einzige Text, welcher diese Variante aufbewahrt hat. Dass aber Tatian, der Enkratit, der Vater dieser Textänderung war, geht hervor aus T^c: *in sanctitate habitabat cum ea*, und aus Syr^c: and purely was dwelling with her.

Das *Protevangelium Jacobi* kennt eine ganz andere Vorstellung. Nach ihm tritt Joseph als Hüter der heiligen Magd auf (14, 2: *ἐφύλασσε τὴν παῖδα*). Das ist ganz etwas anderes.

Diese Vorstellung hat nun sowohl den östlichen wie den westlichen Zweig der Diatessarontradition beeinflusst. T^p bietet, deutlich unter Einfluss des *Protevangelium Jacobi*: e custodì Maria. Die Cambridger Handschrift des niederländischen Diatessarons hat dieselbe Variante: ende hielt si in hoeden. Und doch dürfen wir daraus nicht schliessen, dass diese Lesart von Tatian herrührt und dass Tatian also vom *Protevangelium Jacobi* beeinflusst worden ist. Denn der Heliand, Maerlant, T^c und Syr^c haben eine enkratitische Textveränderung aufbewahrt, welche Tatian gemäss ist.

3. Der Heliand kennt die Vorstellung, dass nicht nur Joseph, sondern auch Maria von Davids Geschlecht stammte. "Die *beiden* entstammten durch Geburt seiner (Davids) Familie, sie waren von seinem Geschlechte, von gutem Stamm" (v. 365–367: *Siu uuârun is hîuuiscas, cuman fon is cnôsla, cunneas gôdes, bêðiu bi giburdiun*). Das kann einem lateinischen Diatessaron entnommen sein, weil die *Pepysian Harmony* dasselbe sagt ("his wif also"). Dass es auf Tatian zurückgeht, beweisen T^c (quod *ambo* de domo David erant) und Syr^s: because both of them were of the house of David. Tatian hat also in Lukas 2, 4: *αὐτόν* in *αὐτούς* geändert.

4. Der Dichter des Heliand weiss, dass es bei den Hebräern Landessitte war, den *ersten* Sohn Gott zu weihen: "wenn sie den *ersten* Sohn gebar, musste sie ihn dorthin zur Weihe bringen (v. 455–456: *ef iru at êrist uuarð sunu afôdit*). Das zeigt nun sehr richtige Kenntnisse auf dem Gebiet der jüdischen Religion [5], welche man einem sächsischen Mönch aus dem neunten Jahrhundert nicht zumuten darf.

[5] Cf. Strack-Billerbeck, II, S. 122–123.

Freilich zeigen T^{nILS} und T^{tos}, welche dasselbe erwähnen, dass der Dichter seine Kenntnisse seiner lateinischen Vorlage entnommen hat. Tatian, der ja wahrscheinlich in Mesopotamien geschrieben hat, wo viele Juden wohnten, konnte es wissen. Daher erklärt es sich wohl, dass T^{c}, T^{p} und Syr^{s} alle an dieser Stelle vom *Erst*geborenen reden. Das kann man nicht ohne Weiteres L 2, 23 entnehmen: da wird über *πᾶν ἄρσεν* gesprochen.

5. Heliand 435–437 wird erzählt wie die Herrin (Maria) alles behielt in ihrem *Herzen* und in *ihrem Sinne*, die heilige Jungfrau, die Magd, was sie die Männer (die Hirten) sagen hörte: (*That frî al biheld an ira hugiskeftiun* (Herz), *hêlag thiorna, thiu magað an ira môde* (Sinn), *sô huat sô siu gihôrda thea mann sprecan.* In L 2, 19 wird vom "Hören" nicht gesprochen: doch scheint es traditionell zu sein, weil auch T^{ven} (audiva) und T^{p} (sentiva) es bieten. Wichtiger ist die Variation: Herz – Sinn. Man würde sagen, dass dies typisch germanisch ist und der dichterischen Freiheit zu verdanken. Das stimmt aber nicht, denn auch T^{nIL} hat eine Doppellesung (in har herte eñ in hare memorie) um L 2, 19: *ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς* wiederzugeben. Dass diese Doppelübersetzung in Syrien nicht unbekannt war, zeigt Syr^{s} zur Stelle: in her *heart* and . . . in her *mind.* Das dürfte auf einen Übersetzer hinweisen, der, wie Tatian, sowohl in der semitischen Welt wie in der hellenistischen Welt zu Hause war und wusste, dass Juden vom "Herzen" sprachen, wo die Griechen *νοῦς* benutzen würden. Die Lesart des Heliands dürfte eine sprachliche Feinheit des hochbegabten Tatian bewahrt haben.

6. Bei der Auferweckung des Lazarus wird dem Christus nach dem Heliand, v. 4072, das Herz gerührt (*hugi uuarð gihrôrid*). Man könnte das als dichterische Abkürzung auffassen für *ἐνεβριμήσατο τῷ πνεύματι καὶ ἐτάραξεν ἑαυτόν* (Joh. 11, 33). Allerdings muss man dann die Übereinstimmung erklären mit T^{tos} (turbò se medesimo), und mit Ambrosius (De Jos. 10, turbavit se spiritu). Dem Heliand noch näher steht T^{ven} (:*move*tese tuto a compassione), und ps. Augustinus, Sermo 91 (com*motus* spiritu). Boismard vermutet dass Tatian die einfache Form *ἐταράχθη* las[6]. Black vermutet, dass dahinter ein syrisches Verbum steckt ('eth 'azaz b^{e}ruḥa), dass

[6] M. E. Boismard, in *L'Evangile de Jean*, 1958, S. 50.

sowohl "er wurde zornig im Geiste" wie "er wurde tief gerührt" bedeuten kann[7]. Dann würde die Zweideutigkeit dieses syrischen Verbums die auffällige Variante in Heliand (*motus est spiritu?*) erklären. Wie dem auch sei, auf jeden Fall müssen hier für den Heliand diese Parallelen berücksichtigt werden.

7. Der Heliand berichtet, *der Torwächter* liesse Petrus seinen Herrn beim Prozess Jesu erst in den Hof hineinfolgen, als Johannes ihn gebeten hat (*ni lêt ina the portun uuard folgon is frôen*, v. 4951–4952). Dagegen weiss Joh. 18, 16 (*καὶ εἶπεν τῇ θυρωρῷ*) nur von einer Torwächterin. Nun muss man natürlich in Rechnung stellen, dass der Dichter auf die Anschauungen seiner Leser und Hörer Rücksicht nahm. Es ist sehr gut möglich, dass es germanischer Auffassung widersprach, dass das Tor von einer Frau bewacht wurde. Daraus muss man nun aber nicht schliessen, dass der Dichter die weibliche *ostiaria* in einen männlichen *portun uuard* geändert hat. Denn wer kann denn beweisen, dass er *ostiariae* in seiner Quelle las, und nicht: *ostiario*? Das ist nämlich die Lesart, welche von T^{ven} (quelo che guardava la porta) und von der Handschrift R des T^{tos} vorausgesetzt wird. Das muss auf syrische Tradition zurückgehen, wie Syr^{s} (and told the doorkeeper) und die Handschrift B von T^{a} (parla au gardien) zeigen. Es ist nämlich nicht nur bei den Germanen, sondern auch bei den Syrern und überhaupt auffällig, dass das Tor des hohenpriestlichen Palastes in Jerusalem von einer Magd bewacht sein sollte. Was nun auch die Ursache des johanneischen *crux interpretum* sein mag (Boismard und Black vermuten Missverständniss des Aramäischen[8]), auf jeden Fall hat Tatian diese Schwierigkeit gehoben.

Das zeigt der Syr^{s} zu Joh. 18, 16: da wird gesagt, dass *der Torhüter* Petrus hinein lässt. Daraufhin fragte ihn die Dienerin des Torhüters, ob er nicht auch einer der Jünger sei. Die äthiopische Bibelübersetzung, zweifellos unter syrischem Einfluss, redet auch von dem Torhüter, der öffnet, und von der Tochter des Torhüters, die dann fragt.

Das hat der Heliand genau bewahrt, als er sagt: vv. 4954 ff.:

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[7] M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, Oxford 1946, S. 174.

[8] Boismard, *o.c.*, S. 46, Black, *o.c.*, S. 192.

"Da kam ihn ein böses Weib entgegengegangen, die Dienerin eines Juden, ihres Herren, und die unschöne Magd sprach . . ."

Wahrscheinlich las der Dichter in seiner lateinischen Quelle: *et dixit ostiario et introduxit petrum. quem cum vidisset ancilla ostiarii.* Das legen die orientalischen Parallelen nahe.

8. Im Heliand wird ausführlich erzählt, wie Maria Magdalena am Ostermorgen von Jesus begrüsst wird. "Das Weib trat ihm mit gutem Willen eilends näher und *erkannte ihren Waltenden selbst*" (v. 5930: *antkenda iro ualdand selƀan*). "Die Frau wusste es aus Minne nicht zu unterlassen, *sie wollte den Volksherrn mit ihren Händen erfassen*" (v. 5931: *uuelda ina mid iro mundon grîpan*). Man soll nicht denken, dass diese Zusätze zu Joh. 20, 16 ganz ohne Bedeutung sind. Erstens zeigt sich hier, dass die lateinische Quelle des Heliand einige Worte enthielt, welche nicht im *Codex Fuldensis*, aber in verschiedenen mittelalterlichen lateinischen Evangelienharmonien stehen [9]: *et occurrit ut tangeret eum.* Sie finden sich auch in T^{nlS} und in verschiedenen Vulgathandschriften (E D), dann auch im Kodex gat und in griechischen Manuskripten, $\aleph^{13}$, Φ, Ψ etc. Diese Worte brauchen also nicht von Tatian selber herzurühren. Dass er aber diese Lesart in sein Diatessaron aufgenommen hat, scheint daraus hervorzugehen, dass der Syr^{s} liest: and she ran forward unto him that she might draw near to him.

Viel wichtiger ist der Zusatz, welche die lateinische Variante *agnovit eum* voraussetzt. Dieser Zusatz liegt nicht sehr nahe, weil er sich nur in T^{nlL} (doe verkendene Maria) und in T^{pep} (and þan sche knew hym) findet.

Merkwürdig, dass er sich ausserhalb des Diatessarons nur noch in Syr^{s} findet (and she recognized him). Das ist nun nicht eine unbedeutende sondern eine sehr wichtige Variante. Die Sachverständigen haben das schon längst ausgesprochen. Black [10] vermutet sogar auf Grund dess Aramäischen, dass nur der $Syrus^{s}$ die richtige Lesung von Joh. 20, 16 bewahrt hat. Ob das so ist können wir dahingestellt sein lassen. Jedenfalls aber stand der Zusatz: "sie erkannte ihn" in Tatians Diatessaron.

So ist dann eine neue Quelle für die Diatessaronforschung ent-

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[9] München 23346, Reims A 46, Kassel 31, Leipzig 192, 193, Berlin 1707.

[10] Black, *o.c.*, S. 189.

deckt worden, der Heliand. Solange die lateinische Evangelienharmonie, welche diesem Gedicht zugrundeliegt, nicht gefunden ist, und solange wir nicht über die Urfassung von Tatians Schrift verfügen, kann nicht in allen Fällen, wo Übereinstimmung vorliegt, mit Sicherheit von Abhängigkeit gesprochen werden. Es ist möglich, dass in diesem Aufsatz dieses oder jenes altsächsische Wort nicht richtig verstanden und fälschlich mit der Diatessarontradition in Verbindung gebracht worden ist. Da benötigen wir die Kritik der Germanisten, allerdings von solchen, welche die verschiedenen Versionen des Diatessarons einbeziehen und nicht evidente Zusammenhänge leugnen wollen. Aber wir müssen sagen, dass die Übereinstimmungen zu zahlreich sind um zufällig zu sein. In diesem oder jenem Fall kann man zögern; man kann aber nicht bezweifeln, – und darauf kommt es an –, dass der Heliand wertvolle Varianten von Tatians Diatessaron aufbewahrt hat. Wahrscheinlich werden andere Forscher noch viel mehr Entsprechungen finden: wir beabsichtigten nur, den Zusammenhang einwandfrei zu beweisen, ohne nach Vollständigkeit zu streben. In der Wissenschaft ist es selten, dass litterarische Abhängigkeit einwandfrei zu beweisen ist. Wir behaupten, dass die Zusammenhänge des Heliands mit der Urfassung Tatians evident sind. Das sollte man nie geleugnet haben, und vor allem es jetzt nicht mehr tun.

IV. Parallelen zum Thomasevangelium

Nachdem wir nun festgestellt haben, dass der Dichter des Heliand ein altlateinisches Diatessaron benutzt hat, das sogar noch Lesarten von Tatian selber enthalten haben muss, fragen wir, ob sich im Heliand auch Parallelen zum Thomasevangelium finden. Es würde sehr merkwürdig sein, wenn das nicht der Fall wäre. Es steht nämlich fest, dass zwischen dem Thomasevangelium und dem Diatessaron irgendwelche Beziehungen bestehen müssen [11]. Nachdem ich in dieser Zeitschrift eine Liste von Parallelen zwischen "Thomas" und Tatian veröffentlicht habe, hat Tj. Baarda diese Ergebnisse sorgfältig geprüft und noch eine Menge von neuen Varianten hinzugefügt [12]. Und zwar lassen sich in *allen* bestehenden

[11] V.C. XIII, 2, 1959, S. 87–117.

[12] *Het Evangelie van Thomas*, Kampen 1960, S. 135–155.

Versionen des Diatessarons Abweichungen vom Texte des Neuen Testamentes feststellen, welche auch im Thomasevangelium stehen. Dann wäre es in der Tat auffällig, wenn der Heliand als einziger eine Ausnahme bildete. Und, wie wir sehen werden, ist das auch nicht der Fall.

Die Frage ist nur, wie sich die Übereinstimmungen zwischen "Thomas" und Tatian erklären lassen. Da kann man verschiedener Ansicht sein. Baarda meint, dass der Autor des Thomasevangeliums das Diatessaron benutzt hat. Haenchen glaubt, dass Tatian und Thomas auf einem stark verdorbenen "westlichen" Text der kanonischen Evangelien beruhen [13]. Ich halte nach wie vor daran fest, dass Thomas und Tatian eine gemeinsame Quelle benutzt haben, und zwar eine judenchristliche Quelle, welche eine von den kanonischen Evangelien unabhängige Tradition enthielt [14]. Diese Frage lassen wir nun auf sich beruhen, weil es uns in diesem Aufsatz nur darum geht, festzustellen, ob der Heliand und das Thomasevangelium gemeinsame Varianten haben.

Für die Ansicht, dass Tatian eine judenchristliche Quelle benutzt hat, und zwar das Hebräerevangelium, hat man sich immer auf seine Darstellung der Taufe Jesu berufen. Da soll ein Licht sich über die Wasser verbreitet haben, der Heilige Geist sollte "in der Gestalt einer Taube" (*ἐν εἴδει περιστερᾶς*) erschienen sein und auf Jesus "geruht" haben. Das steht nicht so in den kanonischen Evangelien, findet sich aber in der judenchristlichen Evangelientradition [15]. Daraus schloss man, dass Tatian bei seiner sorgfältigen Arbeit nicht nur die vier kanonischen Evangelien auf seinem Tisch liegen hatte, sondern auch eine fünfte Quelle, ein judenchristliches Evangelium. Die Spuren dieser judenchristlichen Varianten fehlen nicht ganz im Heliand. Dort heisst es: Er (der Heilige Geist) kam *im Gleichnis* eines starken Vogels, *einer herrlichen Taube* (v. 987–988: *uuas im an gilîcnissie lungres fugles, diurlîcara dûbun*). Der *Fuldensis* liest hier: *et vidit spiritum dei descendentem corporali specie ut columbam venientem super se.*

Es ist aber wahrscheinlich, dass die Vorlage des Heliand einfach

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[13] E. Haenchen, *Die Botschaft des Thomas-Evangeliums*, Berlin 1961.

[14] Das Thomasevangelium und das Alte Testament, *Neotestamentica et Patristica*, Leiden 1962, S. 243–248.

[15] *L'Evangile selon Thomas et le Diatessaron*, V.C. XIII, 2, 1959, S. 102.

in specie columbae las, welche Lesart von T^{nl}, T^{ven}, T^{tos}, Zacharias Chrysopolitanus (100C), T^{c} und Syr^{s} vorausgesetzt wird. So las aber auch das Ebioniterevangelium (*ἐν εἴδει περιστερᾶς*): es lässt sich als Aramaismus (כרמותא = *ὡς*) erklären. Weiter sagt der Heliand, dass der Geist "weilte über dem Kinde des Waltenden" (*uuonoda im obar them ualdandes barne*, v. 989). Dafür bietet der *Codex Fuldensis* nichts Entsprechendes: es scheint aber der Zusatz zu Mt 3, 16: *καὶ μένον* zugrunde zu liegen, welche auch im $Syrus^{sc}$ und pal. gefunden wird. Unter dem Einfluss von J 1, 32: *καὶ ἐμείνεν ἐπ' αὐτόν* ist da die ursprüngliche Lesart (T^{c}: *requievit* super eum) verschwunden, wie in T^{nl}, T^{ven}, T^{tos}, T^{p} und T^{a}. Das zeigt, dass die vom Heliand vorausgesetzte Lesart: *et manentem super eum*, schon sehr früh in den Text des Diatessarons eingedrungen ist, ohne die Spuren der ursprünglichen, judenchristlichen Variante ganz verschwinden zu lassen.

Es gibt also auch im Heliand noch Parallelen zur judenchristlichen Evangelientradition.

Aber auch die Übereinstimmungen mit dem Thomasevangelium fehlen nicht. In der Wiedergabe der Bergpredigt werden die selig gepriesen, welche "mächtiger *Männer Hass* und Harmworte auf sich nehmen" (*rikioro manno heti endi harmquidi*, vv. 1321–1322). Hier bietet der *Codex Fuldensis* dasselbe: *maledixerint vobis et odierint vos homines*. Es will beachtet sein, dass in Mt 5, 11 weder *μισήσωσιν* noch *ἄνθρωποι* steht: das ist L 6, 22 entnommen. Diese Harmonisierung geht auf Tatian zurück: das geht aus dem gleichlautenden Zeugnis von T^{l}, T^{tos}, T^{a} und Syr^{s} hervor, welche alle *μισήσωσιν* und *ἄνθρωποι* voraussetzen. Die Thomasakten zeigen, dass man um 225 in Edessa das im Diatessaron las (c. 107: *οὓς μισοῦσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ διώκουσιν καὶ ὀνειδίζουσιν*).

Die Fassung Tatians lässt sich also ausschliesslich als eine Harmonisierung von Lukas 6, 22 und Mt 5, 11 verstehen. Das Thomasevangelium liest aber, l. 68: Ihr seid selig, wenn ihr *gehasst* (und) *verfolgt* werdet. Es fehlen *ὀνειδίσωσιν* und *ἄνθρωποι*. Daraus muss man schliessen: 1) das Thomasevangelium (oder seine Quelle) hat hier Tatian *nicht* beeinflusst; 2) Thomas ist sehr verschieden vom Diatessaron, beruht also nicht auf einem Diatessaron. Die Lesart des Heliand stimmt mit "Thomas" überein ohne vom Thomasevangelium abhängig zu sein.

In andern Fällen darf man zwar vermuten, dass die judenchristliche Tradition Tatian beeinflusst haben kann, ohne doch mit Sicherheit sagen zu können, dass die Übereinstimmung des Heliand mit der judenchristlichen Tradition, und anderen Versionen des Diatessarons, auf eine Variante der lateinischen Quelle des Heliand zurückgeht. Logion 32 des Thomasevangelium sagt: Eine Stadt, die man befestigt auf einem *hohen* Berg *erbaut* . . . Das unterscheidet sich von M 5, 14: *ἐπάνω ὄρους κειμένη*. Tatian scheint auch, wie Thomas, *ᾠκοδομημένη* statt *κειμένη* gelesen zu haben, wie man aus T^a, T^p und Syr^{sc} schliessen kann. Es ist durchaus möglich, dass er auch *ἐπάνω ὄρους ὑψήλου* oder ähnliches geschrieben hat, denn T^p liest: una città, il cui fondamento sia posto *sulla cima di un monte*. Nun liest der Heliand, vv. 1395–1397: *than mêr the thiu burg ni mag, thiu an berge stâð, hô holmkliƀu biholen uuerden, uurisilic giuuerc*. Das übersetzt Stapel so: "Mehr noch als ein Burg, die auf dem Berge steht, *auf hohem Holmkliff* ein Riesenwerk" (S. 43). Krogmann [16] fasst *hô holmkliƀu* als eine durch den epischen Stil geforderte Variation auf.

Wir haben schon gesehen, dass dieser Rekurs auf die germanische Sonderart des Dichters den Blick für die Zusammenhänge des Heliand mit Tatians Schrift nicht selten trübt, und fragen, ob dies auch in diesem Fall alles erklärt. Krogmann gibt zu, dass *hô holmkliƀu* altsächsisch "Berg" bedeutet und auf *an berge* bezogen werden kann. Er meint aber, dann sei *hô an holmkliƀu* zu erwarten und sieht sich gezwungen, den Text zu ändern. Wir müssen das Endurteil den Germanisten überlassen, fragen aber, ob es ausgeschlossen ist, dass der Dichter in seiner Vorlage las: *Non potest civitas abscondi supra montem altum posita*. Die Lesart des persischen Diatessarons macht das möglich. Wir geben aber zu, dass ein Zusammenhang des Heliand mit dem Thomasevangelium hier möglich, aber nicht gewiss ist.

Heliand v. 1405–1409 lautet:

Ni scal neoman lioht, the it haƀad, liudiun dernean,
te hardo behuuelƀean, ac he it hôho scal

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[16] W. Krogmann, *Heliand, Tatian und Thomasevangelium*, Z.N.W., 41, 1960, S. 255–268.

an seli settean, that thea gesehan mugin
alla gelîco, thea thar inna sind,
helidos an hallu.

(Wer ein Licht hat, soll es niemals den Leuten verbergen
noch es dicht bedecken, sondern soll es hoch
im Saale aufstellen, dass alle Männer
gleicherweise sehn können, die drinnen
in der Halle sind).

Die Abweichungen von Mt 5, 15 sind hier sehr beachtlich. Es ist darum vielleicht nützlich, zu bemerken, dass auch der Text Tatians von Mt 5, 15 verschieden war:

οὐδεὶς ἅπτει — οὐδὲ καίουσιν	: T^{nl} Syr^{sc}
τίθησιν — τιθεάσιν	: T^{nl} Syr^{sc}
+ εἰς τόπον κρυπτόν	: T^{1} T^{nl} T^{tos} Syr^{c} (L 11, 33)
ἀλλα τίθησιν — ἀλλ'	: T^{nl} T^{ven} Syr^{sc}
ἵνα — καὶ	: T^{1} T^{tos} T^{nl}

Auch wenn *ni scal neoman* nicht "niemand soll" sondern "nicht soll jemand" bedeutet, darf man doch annehmen, dass in der lateinischen Vorlage "*nemo*" gestanden hat, wie es die anderen Versionen des Diatessaron nahelegen. Aus "*dernean*", "verbergen", geht hervor, dass der Dichter *in loco abscondito* las, was in *Codex Fuldensis*, aber nicht in Mt 5, 15 steht. "*Settean*" macht wahrscheinlich, dass in der Vorlage, wie in T^{nl} T^{ven} und Syr^{sc} *τίθησιν* wiederhohlt wurde. Dass *ut* statt *et*, das auch in der *Vulgata* Mt 5, 15 steht, trotzdem als Lesart des Diatessarons zu werten ist, hat C. Peters auf Grund des Leningrader Manuskripts D 226 überzeugend bewiesen [17].

Die einzige Stelle im Heliand, wofür bisher in den Diatessarons keine Parallele gefunden wurde, sind die Worte: "dass alle Männer gleicherweise sehn können, die drinnen in der Halle sind" (~ *Codex Fuldensis: ut et luceat omnibus qui in domo sunt*). Da kann man vermuten, dass in der Vorlage statt Mt 5, 15 die Stelle L 11, 33 oder L 8, 16 herangezogen war. Es ist aber auch nicht ausgeschlos-

[17] W. Hefting–C. Peters, *Spuren des Diatessarons in liturgischer Ueberlieferung*, Oriens Christianus, III, 10, 1935, S. 232.

sen, dass da die Fassung Tatians weiter lebt, der sie dann nicht Lukas, sondern der Quelle des "Thomas" entnommen hat. Logion 33 heisst es nähmlich:

> *Niemand zündet* eine Lampe an (*und*) stellt sie unter einen Scheffel noch stellt er sie an einen verborgenen *Ort*, sondern *er setzt* sie auf den Leuchter, *damit* alle, die hereinkommen und die hinausgehen, ihr Licht *sehen*.

Man beachte, dass die Diatessarontradition nicht nur die unterstrichenen Varianten, sondern auch die Folge (Scheffel – verborgener Ort ~ L 11, 33: *κρυπτὴν . . . μόδιον*) mit "Thomas" gemein hat. In diesem Fall kann also kein Zweifel bestehen, dass der Heliand Einiges mit dem Thomasevangelium gemein hat.

Heliand v. 1451 wird Mt 5, 43: *ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον* umschrieben als

> *frâhon is friunda gehuuane*
> ("jedem seiner Freunde freundlich sein").

Das hier "Freund" für "Nächster" benutzt wird, kann nicht zufällig sein: T^{nl} liest auch: du sout liefhebben dinen *vrint*, und T^{ven}: ama lo to *amigo*. Weil auch das persische Diatessaron so liest (3.50: ama il tuo *compagno*), scheint die Variante für Tatian gesichert zu sein. Leloir nimmt an, dass Tatian regelmässig *propinguus* statt *proximus* gelesen hat [18]. Ist es unmöglich, dass die judenchristliche Quelle des Thomasevangeliums ihn dazu veranlasst hat? Dies liest nämlich, 1.25

> Liebe (~ *ἀγαπήσεις*) deinen Bruder (~ *τὸν πλησίον σου*) wie deine Seele (~ *ὡς σεαυτόν*).

Das findet seine Entsprechung an einer anderen Stelle des persischen Diatessarons (Messina p. 225): *ama* e onora il tuo *compagno* come *l'anima tua*. Man würde doch sagen, dass dies genügt um die Übereinstimmungen der Thomastradition mit Tatian festzustellen. Dann kann aber auch die Verwendung von "Freund" statt "Nächster" im Heliand nicht zufällig sein.

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[18] L. Leloir, *Le Diatessaron de Tatian*, L'Orient Syrien, 1, 1956, S. 322.

Der Heliand, v. 1680, redet von der

> "Pflanze, *die* hier im Felde schön bereitet steht,
> (*thiu hîr an felde stâd*),
> die Lilie mit ihren so liebliche Blüten".

Hier darf doch wohl erwähnt werden, dass T^{nl} eine von Matthäus 6, 28 abweichende Lesart hat: de lilien, *die* wassen in den velde (*ἄτινα* ~ *πῶς*). Ob das im Heliand auf Tatian zurückgeht, lässt sich nicht mit Gewissheit sagen. Allerdings hat auch logion 36 von "Thomas" in der Griechischen Fassung von *Pap. Ox.* 655:

τῶν κρίνων ἄτινα αὐξάνει

Mt 12, 35 und L 6, 45 haben im Diatessaron zwei Zusätze erhalten. Erstens wird auch vom *bösen* Mann gesagt, dass sein böser Schatz in seinem Herzen ist: so T^{p} T^{a} T^{ven} T^{nl} Syr^{sc}. Zweitens wird hinzugefügt, was weder bei Lukas noch bei Matthäus mit so vielen Worten steht, dass der böse Mann auch Böses *spricht*. So T^{nlL}: en de quade *sprekt* dat quaet is. Oder auch Syr^{sc}: and the evil man from the evil treasures *in his heart* evil things doth *speak*. Das zeigt auch Aphraates, *Dem* IX, 434: *et malus homo de thesauris malis cordis sui profert et loquitur mala* (id.; XIV, 722): Aphraates benutzt hier wahrscheinlich ein Diatessaron.

Nachdem wir gezeigt haben, dass das Diatessaron des Heliand so viele von dem *Codex Fuldensis* abweichende Lesarten erhalten hat, darf man doch vermuten, dass im Heliand nicht zufällig von den bitteren Worten in der Brust des üblen Mannes die Rede ist. Dieser Zufall bewirkt dann all zu methodisch Übereinstimmung mit der Tradition Tatians.

Es heisst Heliand v. 1755 vv.:

> *ac cumit fan them uƀilan man inuuitrâdos,*
> *bittara balusprâca, sulic sô hi an is breostun haƀad,*
> *geheftid umbi is herte:*
>
> (sondern vom üblen Mann kommen bösartige Ratschläge,
> bittere *Worte* des Verderbens, wie er sie drinnen in der Brust
> um sein *Herz* geheftet hält).

Nun kann man glauben, dass Tatian diese Zusätze von sich aus hinzugefügt hat. Man kann auch meinen, dass Tatian hier von der

judenchristlichen Quelle des Thomasevangeliums abhängt; heisst es doch l. 45:

> "Ein slechter Mensch bringt Schlechtes aus seinem schlechten Schatze, *der in seinem Herzen ist*, und er *sagt Schlechtes*".

Wer aber die Diatessaronüberlieferung kennt, darf nicht leugnen, dass das Diatessaron, und der Heliand, einiges mit "Thomas" gemein haben, dass nicht in Matthäus oder Lukas steht.

Das Gleichnis des Sämanns wird im Heliand frei wiedergegeben, lässt aber trotzdem den Zusammenhang mit dem Diatessaron noch durchblicken. Es heisst, dass etliche Samen fallen *auf* eine feste Strasse

> (*an êna starca strâtun*, v. 2399).

Mt. 13, 4 par. haben: παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν. Man behauptet jetzt auf einmal, das bedeute "auf den Weg". Das haben aber die Syrer nicht gewusst: die syrischen Bibelübersetzer haben es an dieser Stelle einmütig mit ᶜ*aljad* (neben), nicht mit ᶜ*al* (auf) übersetzt.

Allerdings lesen Ephrem Syrus, Aphraates, die aus dem Syrischen übersetzte *Erklärung von Parabeln des Herrn* (Schäfers p. 20) und die pseudo-clementinischen *Recognitiones* (III, 14, 7) alle: "auf den Weg": weil nun auch T^a liest: "sur le haut du chemin", ist es möglich, dass das die Lesart Tatians war. Ist es nun Zufall, dass auch der Heliand die Variante "auf den Weg" vorauszusetzen scheint?

Krogmann wendet ein, dass as. *an* nicht *nur* "auf" sondern auch "an" bedeuten kann. Das heisst, dass es an dieser Stelle auch "auf" bedeuten kann, wie Stapel es dann auch tatsächlich übersetzt. Wenn Krogmann dann aber behauptet, dass die deutsche Präposition "an" das lateinische *secus* wiedergeben kann, müssen wir um Belege bitten (die *Vulgata* bietet nämlich: *secus viam*). Mit *secus* ist gemeint, dass die Samen "neben an" von der Strasse, d.i. neben die Strasse fielen. Dann scheint doch diese Bedeutung an dieser Stelle nicht zu passen, weil der Heliand dann sagen würde, ettliches fiele "neben an" von der Strasse, "wo Fussstapfen gingen, die Hufschläge der Rosse und die Tritte der Männer. Dort kam es in die Erde und ging auf, es begann "neben an" von der Strasse zu wachsen. Da wurde es wiederum vom Schreiten der Menge und des Volkes zerstört". Es ist doch wohl wahrscheinlicher, dass die

lateinische Vorlage *supra viam* oder *in viam* las, in Übereinstimmung mit andern Vertretern der Diatessarontradition.

Von dem Korn, das auf die Steine fällt, sagt der *Codex Fuldensis*:

alia autem ceciderunt in petrosa, ubi non habebat terram multam. Et continuo exorta sunt quia non habebant altitudinem terrae. Sole autem orto aestuaverunt et quia non habebant radicem aruerunt.

Das ist nun in Übereinstimmung mit den kanonischen Evangelien, Mt 13, 5–6 par., und mit dem kunstvollen Aufbau des Gleichnisses, nach dem einige Samen sofort verloren gehen, andere zuerst hoch aufwachsen, dann aber verdürren, wieder andere sofort als sie über den Boden erscheinen, erstickt werden.

Im Diatessaron Tatians lagen hier einige bedeutende Varianten vor. Gegen die kanonische Überlieferung wird gesagt, dass die Samen *nicht wurzelten in der Erde* (T^{nl}: daert sine *wortele* nit geplanten en conste omme ghebreke van goeder *erden*; Syr^{c}: and because there was no depth of *land* under their *roots*).

So sagt auch der Heliand, vv. 2391–2392:

erđon ni habda,
that it thar mahti uuahsan eſtha uuerto giſâhan.

(es hatte keine *Erde*,
um wachsen oder *Wurzel* fassen zu können)

Logion 9 des Thomasevangelium sagt:

Andere (Körner) fielen auf den Felsen und sandten keine *Wurzeln* hinunter in die *Erde*.

Es ist zu vermuten, dass die Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen "Thomas" und Heliand sich aus dem abweichenden lateinischen Diatessaron des Dichters erklären.

Vom Korn, das auf die Strasse fiel, sagt der Heliand, dass "die Vögel es auflasen" (v. 2403: *endi fuglos alâsun*). Das ist nun gegen die kanonische Tradition, der zufolge die Vögel dieses Korn auffrassen (Mt 13, 4 par.: *κατέφαγεν*). Die abweichende Lesart findet sich auch in T^{c} (collegerunt) und bei Aphraates, *Dem.* XIV, 46. In der altsyrischen *Erklärung von Parabeln des Herrn* (Schäfers p. 20) heisst es, wie im Heliand: "und als er jene säte, gab es

welches, das *auf* den Weg fiel, es wurde zertreten und die Vögel *lasen es auf*". Von der Diatessarontradition her betrachtet würde man es für sehr gut möglich halten, dass der Dichter des Heliand hier, wie so oft, alte Lesarten bewahrt hat. Krogmann findet wieder die Erklärung in der germanischen Eigenart des Dichters: "Dass er *ālāsun* und nicht *frātun* schrieb, erklärt sich einfach daraus, dass er kein mit f anlautendes Wort gebrauchen konnte". Ist es aber zufällig, dass auch "Thomas" liest: es kamen die Vögel und *pickten* sie *auf* (= *συνέλεξαν*)?

Im Gleichnis vom Unkraut unter den Weizen bietet das Diatessaron viele Varianten gegen den gebräuchlichen Text, welche auch bei "Thomas", 1.57, stehen. Eine davon sei besonders hervorgehoben. Für Mt 13, 28 bot es "herausziehen" statt *συλλέγειν*: das bezeugt T^{nl} (trekken ut), T^{ven}, T^{p}, T^{a} und Syr^{sc}. Das bietet auch der Heliand, v. 2559:

endi lôsian that crûd thanan
(und das Unkraut herausreissen).

Das stimmt mit 1. 57 des Thomasevangeliums:

"Der Mann liess sie nicht den Lolch *ausreissen*".

Heliand vv. 3829–3832 gibt das Wort über Gott und Kaiser so wieder:

"Dann will ich Euch selbst
wahrhaftig sagen, dass Ihr dem Weltherrn das Seine *gebt* (*gebad*), was er gewann, und
gebt (*selliad*) dem waltenden Gotte, was da sein ist."

Die Wiederholung des Verbums fällt auf: die Synoptiker, Mt 22, 21 par. kennen sie nicht, haben auch *ἀπόδοτε*, nicht *δίδοτε*. Keine Handschrift des Neues Testamentes enthält die Variante des Heliand: das zeigt, dass sie nun auch wieder nicht so vor der Hand lag. Um so mehr fällt es auf, dass das eine gesicherte Lesung des Diatessarons ist: T^{tos} (rendete . . . rendete), T^{c} (date . . . reddite), T^{p} (date . . . date). Es ist möglich, dass Tatian hier von der judenchristlichen Tradition bestimmt ist. Denn das Thomasevangelium, 1.100 liest:

"Gebt was (des) Kaisers ist, (dem) Kaiser.
Gebt was Gottes ist, Gott".

Dass das nicht unbedingt von den Synoptikern abzuhängen braucht, lehrt die Überlegung, dass die Variation, wie sie bei den Synoptikern vorliegt, griechischem Stilempfinden entspricht, während die parallele Wiederholung eher semitisch ist.

Auch will beachtet sein, dass *geben* für *zahlen* ein Semitismus ist (cf Ps 49, 8). Auf jedem Fall aber stimmt hier der *Heliand* mit "Thomas" überein.

Es scheint, dass Tatian das Gleichnis Mt 13, 47–48 sehr geändert hat. Aphraates (Parisot 1, 717, 18), gibt folgende Anspielung: *pisces debiles piscator proiiciet.* Daraus kann man vielleicht schliessen, dass der Fischer (singular) das Subjekt des Gleichnisses war. Das geht auch hervor aus der Variante von T^c: quia *misit eum.* Tatian kann also geschrieben haben: *ὁμοία ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀνθρώπῳ ἁλιεῖ βεβληκότι σαγήνην εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν* ~ Mt: *σαγήνῃ βληθείσῃ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν*; oder, wenn er sein Diatessaron in syrischer Sprache verfasste, das syrische Äquivalent davon. Auch die griechische Partizipialkonstruktion *ἦν . . . ἀναβιβάσαντες* wurde gelockert und durch ein parataktisches *verbum finitum* ersetzt; statt *ἀναβιβάζειν* wurde *σπᾶν* oder ähnliches benutzt: das zeigen erstens T^c (educunt) und zweitens T^p (tirarono), T^{ven}, T^{tos}: (tirano), T^{nl} (trekkense). Auch wurden die Fische nicht gesammelt (Mt: *συνέλεξαν*), sondern ausgewählt (*ἐκλέγειν*): T^c T^p T^a T^l T^{nl} T^{tos} setzen alle die Variante *ἐξέλεξαν* voraus.

Wenn man diese und ähnliche Abweichungen des Diatessarons von Matthäus überblickt, bemerkt man, dass das Gleichnis eigentlich ein anderes geworden ist. Wie C. H. Hunziger sagt: "Es handelt sich, da von einem einzelnen Fischer und seinem Netz die Rede ist, weder um einen Fischfang vom Boot aus noch um ein Schleppnetz (dazu gehören mehrere Leute, so z. B. Mt 13, 47f.), sondern um ein Wurfnetz, das ein Einzelner, im seichten Wasser in Ufernähe stehend, bedient".[19] Weil diese Variante des Gleichnisses Kenntnisse der lokalen Verhältnisse in Palästina verrät, welche bei dem Syrer Tatian nicht vorauszusetzen sind, halte ich es für möglich, dass Tatian hier von einer freien Tradition beeinflusst worden ist.

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[19] C. H. Hunzinger, *Unbekannte Gleichnisse Jesu aus dem Thomas-Evangelium*, Z.N.W., Beiheft 26, S. 218.

Spuren dieser Tradition finde ich bei Klemens von Alexandrien, welche ja so oft Kenntnisse der ausserkanonischen Überlieferungen verrät. Er schreibt *Strom.* VI, XI, 95, 3, Stählin II, S. 479:

ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν
ἀνθρώπῳ σαγήνην εἰς θάλασσαν βεβληκότι
καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἁλωκότων ἰχθύων
τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ἀμεινόνων ποιουμένῳ

Als die eigentliche Quelle dieser Tradition betrachte ich die judenchristliche Schrift, der der Autor des Thomasevangelium, 1.8, folgendes Gleichnis entnahm:

Und er sagte: "Der Mensch gleicht *einem weisen Fischer*, der sein Netz ins Meer warf (und) es voll kleiner Fische aus dem Meere *zog*. Unter ihnen fand er einen grossen, guten Fisch, der weise Fischer. Er warf alle kleinen Fische weg *hinunter ins Meer*.
Er wählte den grossen Fisch ohne Bedenken".

Es sei mir erlaubt, diese Darstellung mit der Fassung des Heliands zu vergleichen (vv. 2628ff.):

Auch gleicht ihm (dem Himmelreich) das Werk
dass *ein Mann* (*man*) ein Netz in den See,
ein Fischnetz in die Flut *wirft* und fängt beide,
üble und gute, und *zieht* sie ans Gestade.
Er bringt sie ans Land, *liest* dann
die guten auf den Sand und lässt die andern wieder in den Grund,
in die weite Woge fahren.

(Stapel, S. 75).

Da würde man sagen, dass die Fassung des Heliand drei Varianten mit dem Diatessaron und vier mit dem Thomasevangelium gemeinsam hat.

Krogmann hält das alles wieder für reinen Zufall. Gegen Stapel meint er, in v. 2629 (*that man an sêo innan segina uuirpit*) heisse *man* nicht "ein Mann", sondern sei das Pronomen indefinitum (nicht, wie Krogmann schreibt, indefinitivum) » man «. So lange zuständige Germanisten ihm das bestreiten, müssen wir wieder um Beweise fragen. Warum doch so apodiktisch: as. *man* bedeutet ja "Mensch, Mann, Dienstmann". Und setzt die Anwendung des

Gleichnisses auf den einen Gott nicht voraus, dass im Gleichniss *einer*, nicht "man" gemeint ist? Ist es, nachdem wir die Parallele in Ephrem's Kommentar (T^{p}), Aphraat, Klemens Alexandrinus und "Thomas" aufgezeigt haben, wirklich nicht erlaubt, zu vermuten, dass der Dichter des Heliand in seinem lateinischen Diatessaron las: *simile est regnum caelorum homini mittenti sagenam in mare*?

Wenn nicht, dann bleiben doch immerhin drei Entsprechungen zum Thomasevangelium bestehen. Sind die auch zufälligerweise entstanden?

Zusammenfassung

Wir schliessen unsere Untersuchung ab. Wir glauben bewiesen zu haben, dass der Heliand auf einem sehr abweichenden und altertümlichen Text des Diatessarons beruht, welcher Varianten mit dem Thomasevangelium gemein hat. Möge der Germanist auch diese oder jene Parallele anders beurteilen, die Entsprechungen sind zu zahlreich um zufällig zu sein. Wenn Krogmann so sehr die germanische Eigenart des Heliands benachdruckt, dass er jede Verbindung mit Tatian und Thomas leugnet, möge er bedenken, dass es eben verschiedene Versionen des Diatessarons gibt, und dass die Kontinuität der christlichen Kultur, vom Syrer bis zum Sachsen, nicht weniger eindrucksvoll ist als die germanische Eigenart.

Und wenn die Forscher recht haben, die meinen, dass das Thomasevangelium eine unabhängige, judenchristliche Tradition enthält, dürfte sogar im Heliand noch ein Nachklang dieser Stimme zu spüren sein. Diejenigen, welche sich um die ursprüngliche Form der Jesusüberlieferung bemühen, können die Tradition des Diatessarons, und so auch den Heliand, nicht länger vernachlässigen.

Bilthoven, Noord Houdringelaan 32

NACHWORT

Nach der Kritik Willy Krogmanns (Z.N.W. 41, 1960, S. 255–268) hatte es den Anschein, dass die von Quispel angesetzte quellenmässige Beziehung zwischen Heliand und Thomasevangelium einer näheren Prüfung nicht standhalten könne. In Anbetracht der grossen wissenschaftlichen Bedeutung der Frage erscheint es mir angebracht, von fachkollegialer Seite einmal auszusprechen, dass sie vom germanistischen Standpunkt aus keineswegs als erledigt betrachtet werden darf. Der Aufsatz Quispels hatte als ursprünglicher Kongressvortrag den Charakter einer vorläufigen Ankündigung; das dürftige Material diente vor allem als Illustration der vorgebrachten These. Die Parallelüberlieferung der übrigen Evangelienharmonien, von England bis Persien, die die betreffenden Heliandstellen erst ins rechte Licht rücken, konnten nicht beigegeben werden.

Auch konnte Quispels Ruf und Meisterschaft auf eigenem Gelände nicht verhüten, dass er sich im unbekannten Wald der Germanistik weniger sicher bewog. So wird man Krogmann zustimmen, wenn er manche Parallelen aus der germanischen Sitte und den Anforderungen des Alliterationsverses erklärt; wie V. 285 *Thiu bium ic theotgodes* oder V. 1396 *hô holmkliƀu*. In anderen Fällen jedoch genügt diese Erklärung kaum; so V. 2403, wo allerdings *frâtun* unmöglich war, aber jedes nicht mit f anlautende Verb brauchbar gewesen wäre; der Dichter war also nicht gezwungen *alâsun* einzusetzen. Es ist also durchaus möglich dass der Ausdruck auf die Vorlage zurückgeht.

Noch weiter geht Krogmann in anderen Fällen, wo dem altsächsischen Text eine unmögliche oder im Zusammenhang unwahrscheinliche Bedeutung aufgedrängt wird. So V. 2629, wo *man* doch ‚ein Mann' heissen muss: ‚dass ein Mann in die See hinein/das Schleppnetz wirft.' Setzt man hier das abgeschwächte ‚man' ein, so ist die geschaute Bildhaftigkeit der Parabel dahin. Alle Uebersetzer, von Simrock bis Genzmer, geben denn auch ‚ein Mann'. Die Betonung *that mán an séo innan* ist metrisch einwandfrei (vgl.: V. 2640 *thes uu|ties uuiƀarlâga*). Wenn man auch *ên man* erwartet (vgl.: V. 2389 *ên erl*) so ist zu bedenken, dass das altertümliche

Fehlen des Artikels das Substantiv hervorheben kann (vgl.: V. 2609 *erl mid is ôrun*; V. 2654 *uu|f undar thesemu uuerode*). Ganz unmöglich ist Krogmanns Auffassung von V. 2399: (Sum eft bifallen uuard) *an êna starca strâtun*, V. 2402 *an themu uuege* und V. 2405 *an thene uueg*. Hier darf nur übersetzt werden: „. . . fiel *auf* die Strasse', nicht ‚fiel *neben* die Strasse' (secus viam). Wenn auch as. *an* mitunter nhd. *an* entspricht, so kann doch bei intransitiven Richtungsverben davon keine Rede sein. Krogmann weiss das ebenso gut (oder besser) wie jeder Fachgenosse, und es kann deshalb nicht wundernehmen, dass er S. 262 seines Aufsatzes in anderem Zusammenhang schreibt: „Zunächst spricht er (der Helianddichter) von dem Korn, das auf den Felsen fällt, dann von dem, das in gutes Land gelangt, weiter von dem Korn, das auf die Strasse fällt . . ."

Der vorliegende Aufsatz Quispels bringt weitere Parallelstellen zur Frage und stellt sie in den weiten Rahmen der Tatianüberlieferung. Damit ist das Material jedoch keineswegs erschöpft. Nicht eine vorschnelle abwehrende Haltung (die sich allerdings zum grossen Teil aus den oben ausgeführten Gründen erklären lässt), sondern ein sorgfältiges Nachprüfen der Veröffentlichungen dürfte im jetztigen Stadium die Aufgabe der Heliandforschung sein.

Es handelt sich ja nicht bloss um den Heliand und das Thomasevangelium; das altsächsische Epos bildet einen Ast am weitverzweigten Baum der Tatianüberlieferung.

Wenn auch wichtige Fortschritte aufzuweisen sind, so verlangt doch der ganze Fragenkomplex viele Jahren weiterer Forschungsarbeit. Wer Quispels Theorie auf Grund der bisherigen Veröffentlichungen nicht beitreten kann, möge sie wenigstens als Arbeitshypothese gelten lassen.

Zeist, Platolaan 16 J. A. HUISMAN

LE CONFLIT PASCAL AU IIE SIÈCLE

NOTE PHILOLOGIQUE

PAR

CHRISTINE MOHRMANN

Presque simultanément ont été publiées deux études sur le dossier concernant le conflit pascal qui éclata sous le pape Victor, et dont des extraits importants nous ont été conservés par Eusèbe, *H. E.* V, 23–25.

M. P. Nautin s'est efforcé, dans *Lettres et Écrivains chrétiens des IIe et IIIe siècles* [1], de reconstituer ce dossier et de déterminer sa place dans le conflit pascal. Grâce à une interprétation pénétrante et subtile, il tire des documents conservés tout ce qu'ils peuvent déceler . . . et parfois même un peu plus.

M. Marcel Richard, de sa part, utilisant les mêmes textes, étudie surtout le problème de la diffusion de la fête de Pâque au IIe siècle [2], et pour l'essentiel il suit Karl Holl [3] en adoptant la thèse défendue il y a bien des années par ce savant, selon laquelle l'Église romaine n'aurait commencé à célébrer la fête de Pâque que sous le pape Soter (vers 167–174). Cette conclusion, M. Richard croit pouvoir la tirer, avec Holl, d'un passage de la lettre de saint Irénée au pape Victor, cité par Eusèbe, *H. E.* V, 24, 14–15.

L'interprétation du dossier sur la Pâque tel qu'il nous est transmis par Eusèbe est des plus difficiles et je ne saurais prétendre être à même de donner une solution à tous les problèmes d'interprétation qui s'y présentent. Toutefois je crois qu'une étude plus ou moins approfondie de certains termes et tournures, et une interprétation rigoureuse des textes pourraient exclure certaines solutions pro-

[1] Pierre Nautin, *Lettres et Écrivains chrétiens des IIe et IIIe siècles*, Paris, 1961, p. 65–104.

[2] Marcel Richard, *La Question pascale au IIe siècle*, L'orient syrien VI (1961), p. 179–212.

[3] K. Holl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze für Kirchengeschichte*, t. II, Tübingen, 1928, p. 204–224 (réimpression d'un article paru dans la *Festgabe Jülicher*, 1927, p. 159–189).

posées et en appuyer d'autres, sans qu'une solution définitive s'impose partout.

La situation historique dans laquelle le dossier se place est connue. Dans *H. E.* V, 23 Eusèbe nous explique la question relative à la Pâque qui fut soulevée sous le pape Victor. Il s'agissait de deux problèmes en relation l'un avec l'autre: la date de la célébration pascale et la fin du jeûne de Pâque. L'exposé d'Eusèbe est clair, je le cite dans la traduction du chanoine Bardy [4]: 'Dans ces temps-là, une question assurément non sans importance fut soulevée, parce que les chrétientés de toute l'Asie, suivant une tradition très antique, pensaient qu'il fallait garder le quatorzième jour de la lune pour la fête de la Pâque du Seigneur. C'était le jour auquel il était ordonné aux Juifs d'immoler l'agneau et, d'après eux, il était absolument nécessaire, en quelque jour de la semaine que se rencontrât cette date, de mettre alors fin aux jeûnes. Mais les Églises de tout le reste de la terre n'avaient pas l'habitude d'observer cette manière de faire, et d'après la tradition apostolique elles gardaient l'usage qui est en vigueur jusqu'à présent, pensant qu'il n'était pas convenable de mettre fin au jeûne en un autre jour que celui de la résurrection de notre Sauveur.' [5] Eusèbe, après cet exposé, nous dit que: 'Des synodes et des assemblées d'évêques se réunirent donc à ce sujet; et tous, d'un seul accord, portèrent par lettres un décret ecclésiastique pour les fidèles de partout, décidant que le mystère de la résurrection du Seigneur d'entre les morts ne serait jamais célébré un autre jour que le dimanche et que ce jour-là seulement, nous observerions la fin des jeûnes de Pâque.' [6] Pour confirmer ce qu'il vient de dire il nous communique qu'il existait à son époque un dossier de lettres d'évêques, d'Orient et d'Occident, qui tous étaient en faveur de la célébration dominicale. Après avoir fait mention de l'existence de ce dossier (dont il ne cite pas d'extraits) Eusèbe poursuit: 'Mais les évêques de l'Asie affirmaient avec force qu'il fallait conserver l'ancienne et primitive coutume qui leur avait été transmise; ils étaient dirigés par Polycrate: lui-même aussi, dans la lettre qu'il écrivit à Victor

[4] Eusèbe de Césarée, *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, Livres V–VII, texte grec, traduction et notes par Gustave Bardy, Paris, 1955 (SC 41).

[5] *H. E.* V, 23, 1.

[6] *Ibid.*

et à l'Église des Romains, expose en ces termes la tradition venue jusqu'à lui.' [7]

C'est par ce document cité par Eusèbe que commence la série d'extraits du dossier quartodéciman, dont Eusèbe fait mention en deuxième lieu.

Victor avait écrit une lettre dans laquelle il menaçait Polycrate, évêque d'Éphèse, de rompre la communion avec lui, s'il continuait à célébrer la Pâque le 14 Nisan. Eusèbe n'a pas inséré cette lettre dans son *Histoire*, mais son contenu peut être reconstitué plus ou moins de ce qu'il nous en dit. D'autre part, l'évêque de Césarée nous a conservé deux fragments de la lettre par laquelle Polycrate a répondu au pape Victor.[8] Il y ajoute deux fragments d'une lettre écrite par Irénée de Lyon 'au nom des frères qu'il dirigeait en Gaule', dans laquelle celui-ci, tout en confirmant qu'il fallait célébrer au jour du dimanche 'le mystère de la résurrection du Seigneur',[9] prend la défense de Polycrate. Se référant à la tradition des prédécesseurs du pape romain il exhorte Victor à la tolérance vis à vis de Polycrate et des quartodécimans. [10] Enfin, se tournant de nouveau vers ceux qui préconisaient l'usage dominical, Eusèbe cite la fin d'une lettre de Narcissus, évêque de Jérusalem, et de ses collègues palestiniens, dans laquelle il est dit que les Palestiniens suivaient, pour la célébration de la Pâque, la date alexandrine (dominicale). [11]

Les conclusions très différentes qu'on a voulu tirer des documents énumérés nous montrent une fois de plus les difficultés devant lesquelles nous place assez souvent la méthode d'Eusèbe: les fragments de documents authentiques qu'il insère dans son récit historique trop souvent nous fournissent des informations lacuneuses, difficiles à interpréter.

Je ne voudrais pas reprendre ici l'étude complète des documents. Je me bornerai à quelques observations philologiques qui pourraient corriger certaines des interprétations proposées.

Notre dossier commence par les fragments (I et II) de la lettre

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[7] *H. E.* V, 24, 1.

[8] *H. E.* V, 24, 2–7 et 24, 8.

[9] La formule est d'Eusèbe et j'y reviendrai. Voir p. 169.

[10] *H. E.* V, 24, 12–13; *ibid.* 14–17.

[11] *H. E.* V, 25.

de Polycrate à Victor.[12] Polycrate y répond d'abord à une observation de Victor qui semble avoir fait valoir que la tradition de l'Église de Rome remontait aux apôtres Pierre et Paul qui y étaient enterrés et que l'usage dominical suivi par elle était celui des apôtres. Polycrate répond que l'Asie, elle aussi, a des saints qui y sont enterrés, à commencer par deux apôtres, Philippe et Jean, et que tous avaient pratiqué l'observance quarto-décimane. L'interprétation de la lettre de Polycrate ne se heurte pas à des difficultés majeures et je renvoie le lecteur à la traduction et l'analyse données par M. Nautin.[13] Je voudrais me borner à un petit problème d'interprétation. Parmi les 'grands astres enterrés en Asie' Polycrate fait mention de Méliton de Sardes de la manière suivante: *Μελίτωνα τὸν εὐνοῦχον, τὸν ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι πάντα πολιτευσάμενον, ὃς κεῖται ἐν Σάρδεσιν περιμένων τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐπισκοπὴν, ἐν ᾗ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστήσεται.* M. Nautin donne[14] la traduction suivante: 'et l'eunuque Méliton, qui a toujours vécu dans le Saint Esprit: il est enterré à Sardes en attendant l'épiscopat qui viendra des cieux dans lequel il ressuscitera d'entre les morts.' Le savant auteur explique ce texte à la lumière de la question de savoir si Méliton avait été évêque ou non. On sait qu'Eusèbe [15] a fait de Méliton un évêque. Le texte de Polycrate – ainsi M. Nautin – montre que celui-ci ne croit pas que Méliton ait été évêque: "lorsqu'il déclare que Méliton 'attend l'*ἐπισκοπή* qui viendra des cieux et dans laquelle il ressuscitera', il a bien l'air de dire que Méliton n'était pas évêque, mais qu'il aurait mérité de l'être, et qu'il aura en compensation 'l'épiscopat qui vient des cieux' en ce sens qu'il aura part à la promesse que Jésus a faite à ses apôtres qu'ils 'jugeraient les douze tribus d'Israël' (*Mat.* XIX, 27). L'épiscopat de Méliton est donc en réalité extrêmement douteux." [16]

Je suis d'accord avec M. Nautin en ce qui concerne l'essentiel, mais je crois qu'on devrait interpréter le passage d'une manière un peu différente. La difficulté de l'interprétation se trouve dans le terme *ἐπισκοπή*. Or, il me semble que la traduction du chanoine

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12 *H. E.* V, 24, 2–8.
13 *O.c.*, p. 65–74.
14 *O.c.*, p. 67.
15 *H. E.* IV, 26, 1.
16 *O.c.*, p. 71.

Bardy est plus proche de la réalité que celle de M. Nautin: "L'eunuque Méliton, qui a vécu entièrement dans le Saint-Esprit, qui repose à Sardes en attendant la visite à venir des cieux, dans laquelle il ressuscitera des morts." [17] Il me semble évident que dans ce passage nous avons affaire à l'usage biblique et eschatologique de *ἐπισκοπή* 'jugement', tel qu'il se trouve dans la formule: *καιρὸς ἐπισκοπῆς* (*Ier.* 6, 15; 10, 15), *ἡμέρα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς* (*Is.* 10, 3), etc.: le moment, le jour du jugement.[18] Il s'agit donc dans ce passage de la parousie, du dernier jugement et Polycrate répète à la fin de la liste des 'astres', à propos de Méliton, ce qu'il a dit au début de ce passage en paroles plus claires: *ἄτινα ἀναστήσεται τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ κυρίου.*

Dans la suite de sa lettre Polycrate se réfère à la tradition 'épiscopale' de sa famille.

Dans le second fragment l'évêque d'Éphèse assure qu'il a réuni, comme Victor l'avait voulu, un concile, que les évêques y étaient venus nombreux, qu'ils avaient approuvé sa lettre, sans juger utile d'y mettre leur signature. Ici encore je renvoie le lecteur au commentaire donné par M. Nautin.[19] L'interprétation du passage ne me semble pas offrir matière à discussion.

Les difficultés commencent par les fragments de la lettre d'Irénée.[20] Eusèbe les introduit en disant que le rigorisme et la sévérité de Victor qui voulait excommunier les évêques quartodécimans de l'Asie ne plaisaient pas à tous les évêques. A leur tour ils lui conseillaient d'avoir souci de la paix, de l'union avec le prochain, de la charité. On a encore, dit Eusèbe, leurs paroles: ils s'adressaient à Victor d'une manière fort tranchante.[21] Parmi ceux-ci, dit Eusèbe, se trouvait aussi Irénée, écrivant au nom des frères qu'il dirigeait en Gaule. Selon Eusèbe, saint Irénée, en avocat habile, commençait par déclarer son plein accord avec Victor sur le principe que la fête de Pâque devait se célébrer un dimanche. La formule employée par Eusèbe est assez intéressante, parce qu'elle reflète clairement, non pas l'usage du IIe siècle, mais la conception de Pâque du

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[17] *O.c.*, p. 68
[18] Voir WzNT II, p. 602 ss.
[19] O.c., p. 73 s.
[20] *H. E.* V, 24, 12–17.
[21] *H. E.* V, 24, 9.

temps d'Eusèbe: *Παρίσταται μὲν τῷ δεῖν ἐν μόνῃ τῇ τῆς κυριακῆς ἡμέρᾳ τὸ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου ἀναστάσεως ἐπιτελεῖσθαι μυστήριον.*[22]

Quoiqu' Irénée préconise donc la célébration dominicale, il ne saurait être d'accord avec la sévérité de Victor. Cette différence d'observance était-ce, demande-t-il, une raison pour retrancher de la communion des Églises tout entières, qui gardaient la tradition d'une ancienne coutume? Après de telles considérations Irénée invoquait un autre argument, lequel Eusèbe – le considérant particulièrement important, semble-t-il – cite littéralement.[23] L'incertitude, dit Irénée, ne porte pas seulement sur le jour, mais aussi sur la manière de jeûner: *οὐδὲ γὰρ μόνον περὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐστὶν ἡ ἀμφισβήτησις, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ εἴδους αὐτοῦ τῆς νηστείας.* M. Nautin pense[24] que *τῆς νηστείας* se rapporte à la fois à *ἡμέρας* et à *εἴδους*, ce qui est suggéré par *αὐτοῦ*: 'car l'incertitude ne porte pas seulement sur le jour du jeûne, mais aussi sur la manière même de jeûner.' Le chanoine Bardy est un peu plus prudent en donnant une traduction plus ou moins ambigue: 'La discussion n'est pas seulement sur le jour, mais aussi sur la manière même de jeûner.' La question est difficile à trancher, mais toujours est-il que la diversité d'observance du jeûne pascal décrite par Irénée, diversité 'qui existait bien avant, du temps de nos prédécesseurs' (*καὶ τοιαύτη μὲν ποικιλία τῶν ἐπιτηρούντων οὐ νῦν ἐφ' ἡμῶν γεγονυῖα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν*), ne suggère pas, comme M. Richard le veut, absence de célébration de la Pâque sous les prédécesseurs (de Victor) d'une part, observance quartodécimane de l'autre. Il s'agit clairement de deux célébrations, chacune précédée par un jeûne (de longueur diverse), mais fixées à des jours divers.

Après avoir cité cet argument avancé par Irénée, Eusèbe donne un autre fragment de la même lettre, qu'il introduit d'une manière assez laconique: 'à cela, Irénée ajoute encore un récit que je puis bien rapporter. Il se présente ainsi.' Nous ne savons pas si ce fragment qui commence par une tournure relative (*ἐν οἷς*) constitue la suite immédiate, ou presque immédiate, de ce qui précède, ou si Eusèbe a supprimé quelques phrases, ou même plus, du texte d'Irénée. Quoi qu'il en soit, la situation suggérée par ce fragment

[22] *H. E.* V, 24, 11.
[23] *Ibid.*, 12 ss.
[24] O.c., p. 78.

ne correspond pas trop bien avec ce qui précède et la terminologie employée par rapport à la célébration pascale change également. Irénée veut attirer l'attention sur la grande tolérance des prédécesseurs de Victor. C'est ici que commencent, pour nous, les difficultés d'interprétation. Dans le récit qui suit il s'agit de l'antithèse *τηρεῖν* (pour les quartodécimans de l'Asie) et *μὴ τηρεῖν* (pour Rome). Cette antithèse est plusieurs fois répétée et le couple *τηρεῖν / μὴ τηρεῖν* constitue comme le pivot de tout le récit et de toute l'argumentation. Avouons-le, la formule est déroutante et on a l'impression qu'elle a été préparée, voire expliquée, par Irénée dans le passage précédent, supprimé par Eusèbe. Ce ne serait d'ailleurs pas la seule fois qu'Eusèbe aurait coupé les textes de manière malhabile.

Prenons la première partie du texte d'Irénée: *Ἐν οἷς καὶ οἱ πρὸ Σωτῆρος πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ προστάντες τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἧς σὺ νῦν ἀφηγῇ, Ἀνίκητον λέγομεν καὶ Πίον, Ὑγῖνον τε καὶ Τελεσφόρον καὶ Ξύστον, οὔτε αὐτοὶ ἐτήρησαν οὔτε τοῖς μετ' αὐτῶν ἐπέτρεπον, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔλαττον αὐτοὶ μὴ τηροῦντες εἰρήνευον τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν παροικιῶν ἐν αἷς ἐτηρεῖτο, ἐρχομένοις πρὸς αὐτούς· καίτοι μᾶλλον ἐναντίον ἦν τὸ τηρεῖν τοῖς μὴ τηροῦσιν. Καὶ οὐδέποτε διὰ τὸ εἶδος τοῦτο ἀπεβλήθησαν τινες, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ μὴ τηροῦντες οἱ πρὸ σοῦ πρεσβύτεροι τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν παροικιῶν τηροῦσιν ἔπεμπον εὐχαριστίαν.*[25] Pour le moment je traduis *τηρεῖν* par 'observer', terme neutre qu'on devra préciser plus tard: 'Parmi eux(?) les presbytres prédécesseurs de Soter qui ont dirigé l'Église que tu gouvernes aujourd'hui, c'est-à-dire Anicet, Pie, Hygin, Télesphore, Xyste ni n'ont observé (*ἐτήρησαν*) eux-mêmes, ni n'ont laissé le choix à ceux qui étaient avec eux et bien que n'observant pas (*μὴ τηροῦντες*) eux-mêmes, ils n'étaient pas moins en paix avec ceux qui venaient des chrétientés où l'on observait (*ἐτηρεῖτο*), lorsque ceux-ci venaient auprès d'eux. Pourtant (dans ces circonstances) le fait d'observer (*τὸ τηρεῖν*) était plus gênant pour ceux qui n'observaient pas (*τοῖς μὴ τηροῦσιν*). Et il n'y en a eu jamais de rejetés par suite de cette conduite, mais les presbytres avant toi, tout en n'observant pas (*μὴ τηροῦντες*) eux-mêmes, envoyaient l'Eucharistie à ceux des chrétientés qui observaient (*τοῖς . . . τηροῦσιν*).'

Ce fragment, à part le problème du sens du couple *τηρεῖν/μὴ τηρεῖν*

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[25] *H. E.* V, 24, 14 et 15.

donne lieu à quelques observations. Notons d'abord l'usage archaïque de *πρεσβύτεροι* pour les évêques, usage caractéristique d'Irénée qui semble parfois mettre au même niveau *πρεσβύτεροι* et *ἐπίσκοποι*.[26] Ensuite les mots: *οὔτε τοῖς μετ' αὐτῶν ἐπέτρεπον*. M. Nautin traduit la forme verbale *ἐπέτρεπον* par 'permirent' [27] ce qui est en soi une traduction possible. Le chanoine Bardy donne une traduction qui me semble moins acceptable: 'ils n'ont pas imposé (leur usage)'. Je crois que ni l'une ni l'autre ne rend exactement ce que saint Irénée a voulu dire. *Ἐπιτρέπω* a très souvent depuis l'époque classique le sens de: 'laisser le choix, la décision à quelqu'un'. Ce qu'Irénée veut dire, à mon avis, c'est que les observances étant différentes, les évêques de Rome ne laissaient pas le choix aux chrétiens de Rome, ce qui signifie qu'ils ont imposé une observance, mais que, en même temps, ils étaient tolérants pour les étrangers venant à Rome. Suit la phrase énigmatique: *καίτοι μᾶλλον ἐναντίον ἦν τὸ τηρεῖν τοῖς μὴ τηροῦσιν*. Elle ne s'explique, me semble-t-il qu'en relation avec les mots qui précèdent: *ἐρχομένοις πρὸς αὐτούς*. Les évêques romains recevant chez eux les *τηροῦντες*, permettaient une observance différente dans leur propre ville, quoiqu'une telle observance pratiquée à Rome même fût particulièrement choquante. C'était donc la preuve d'une grande tolérance: 'pourtant le fait d'observer était plus gênant (*μᾶλλον ἐναντίον*) pour ceux qui n'observaient pas': plus gênant, choquant que pour Victor, lorsque le *τρηεῖν* avait lieu loin de Rome, en Asie.

Les mots *τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν παροικιῶν τηροῦσιν ἔπεμπον εὐχαριστίαν* ne me semblent donner matière à caution. Toutefois, M. Nautin [28] hésite en ce qui concerne l'explication qui semble être normale: "Pris en rigueur de termes, *ἔπεμπον εὐχαριστίαν* indiquerait donc que la manière pour un évêque de signifier à un confrère lointain qu'il était en communion avec lui était de lui envoyer une parcelle de l'Eucharistie. Mais cette pratique n'est pas attestée ailleurs. On peut se demander s'il ne s'agirait pas plutôt d'une expression usuelle à cette époque et synonyme de *παραχωρεῖν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν*, qui se lit dans la seconde partie du fragment et qui désigne incontestablement la coutume selon laquelle un évêque qui recevait

[26] Cf. *Adv. Haer.* 4, 32, 1; 4, 16, 2. Voir WzNT 6, p. 678.
[27] O.c., p. 79.
[28] O.c., p. 81.

un collègue lui 'cédait l'Eucharistie', c'est-à-dire lui demandait de l'offrir à sa place dans son église . . . Trouverait-on dans le grec tardif d'autres expressions où *πέμπειν* ne dirait rien de plus que 'laisser', 'abandonner' quelque chose à quelqu'un (de même que *παραπέμπειν* est attesté dans le sens de 'laisser' en héritage)?'' J'avoue que je n'ai jamais rencontré un tel usage de *πέμπειν* et son existence me semble très peu probable. L'idée qu'un évêque envoie à un confrère lointain une parcelle de l'Eucharistie pour signifier qu'il était en communion avec lui s'accorde d'ailleurs assez bien avec ce que nous savons des usages des premiers siècles: on emportait l'Eucharistie avec soi, on communiait à la maison; [29] à Rome même on a longtemps conservé l'usage du *fermentum*, le fragment de pain eucharistique que le pape faisait porter le dimanche par un acolyte aux prêtres des 'titres' de Rome qui ne pouvaient pas participer à sa messe solennelle.[30]

Après ces observations d'ordre général Irénée nous donne l'histoire de Polycarpe venant à Rome sous Anicet: *Καὶ τοῦ μακαρίου Πολυκάρπου ἐπιδημήσαντος τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Ἀνικήτου καὶ περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν μικρὰ σχόντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους, εὐθὺς εἰρήνευσαν, περὶ τούτου τοῦ κεφαλαίου μὴ φιλεριστήσαντες εἰς ἑαυτούς. Οὔτε γὰρ ὁ Ἀνίκητος τὸν Πολύκαρπον πεῖσαι ἐδύνατο μὴ τηρεῖν, ἅτε μετὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ μαθητοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων οἷς συνδιέτριψεν ἀεὶ τετηρηκότα, οὔτε μὴν ὁ Πολύκαρπος τὸν Ἀνίκητον ἔπεισεν τηρεῖν, λέγοντα τὴν συνήθειαν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πρεσβυτέρων ὀφείλειν κατέχειν.*[31] Je commence par donner la traduction: ''Lorsque le bienheureux Polycarpe vint à Rome sous Anicet, ayant sur d'autres choses quelques petits différends, ils firent aussitôt la paix, mais sur ce chapitre ils ne cherchèrent pas querelle. Car ni Anicet ne put persuader Polycarpe de ne pas observer (*μὴ τηρεῖν*) parce qu'il avait toujours observé (*τετηρηκότα*) avec Jean le disciple de Notre Seigneur et les autres apôtres avec qui il avait vécu, ni non plus Polycarpe ne persuada Anicet d'observer (*τηρεῖν*), car celui-ci disait devoir maintenir la coutume des presbytres ses prédécesseurs.''

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[29] Voir Doelger, A.C. 1 (1929), p. 8 et 44. – J. A. Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia* II[5], Wien 1962, p. 447.

[30] Voir *Lib. Pont.* I, 75 et 168; Innoc. I, *Ep.* 25, 5. – Doelger, *ibid.*, p. 46.

[31] *H. E.* V, 24, 16.

Je ne puis qu'être d'accord, en général, avec l'interprétation proposée par M. Nautin.[32] La traduction qui s'impose montre qu'il n'y avait pas de querelle entre Anicet et Polycarpe en ce qui concerne le problème *τηρεῖν/μὴ τηρεῖν*. Je ne vois pas comment on pourrait traduire ce passage d'une autre manière, et on s'étonne de voir M. Richard proposer une traduction – impossible du point de vue grammatical – pour prouver que 'Polycarpe et Anicet n'ont pas eu de discussion sur la question pascale' et que saint Irénée 'nous explique pourquoi une telle discussion était impossible'.[33] M. Richard croit donc devoir refuter le témoignage d'Eusèbe selon lequel saint Polycarpe était allé à Rome sur ses vieux jours pour discuter avec le pape Anicet le problème pascal. Il s'agit du texte suivant: *Ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν δηλουμένων, Ἀνικήτου τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἡγουμένου, Πολύκαρπον ἔτι περιόντα τῷ βίῳ γενέσθαι τε ἐπὶ Ῥώμης καὶ εἰς ὁμιλίαν τῷ Ἀνικήτῳ ἐλθεῖν διά τι ζήτημα περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ πάσχα ἡμέρας Εἰρηναῖος ἱστορεῖ.*[34] "Polycarpe qui était encore en vie, vint à Rome et s'entretint avec Anicet d'une question relative au jour de Pâque, à ce que raconte Irénée." Eusèbe se réfère donc à notre texte. Ce passage est en parfait accord avec l'interprétation du passage d'Irénée que je viens de donner: dans les deux textes il est question de discussion. Eusèbe, se référant à Irénée, dit qu'il s'agissait de *εἰς ὁμιλίαν . . . ἐλθεῖν*, Irénée dit de sa part, dans le passage que nous venons d'étudier, 'qu'ils ne cherchèrent pas querelle', mais que tous les deux maintenaient leur point de vue. Il y avait donc discussion amicale, mais pas de conflit, pas de querelle. C'est une leçon pour Victor: une différence de vues et de pratique ne doit pas nécessairement mener à un conflit.

Si M. Richard pense que les deux évêques ne pouvaient pas se disputer, c'est qu'il croit pouvoir donner du passage de la lettre de saint Irénée concernant Polycarpe une interprétation que ne permet pas l'usage grammatical. Il propose de traduire les mots *οὔτε γὰρ ὁ Ἀνίκητος τὸν Πολύκαρπον πεῖσαι ἐδύνατο*: 'Anicet en effet n'aurait pas pu décider Polycarpe'. Pour justifier cette traduction il se réfère à 'la règle bien connue: l'imparfait des verbes signifiant pouvoir, devoir, falloir s'emploie au sens du conditionnel

[32] O.c., p. 80 ss.
[33] O.c., p. 193.
[34] *H. E.* IV, 14, 1.

pour marquer la non réalité'.[35] Malheureusement M. Richard oublie que cette règle, en ce qui concerne la troisième personne, ne s'applique qu'aux verbes impersonnels.[36] Dans notre cas figure un *ἐδύνατο* personnel ce qui rend la traduction proposée impossible. Un peu plus loin[37] M. Richard propose de traduire les mots: *οὔτε μὴν ὁ Πολύκαρπος τὸν Ἀνίκητον ἔπεισεν τηρεῖν*: 'et Polycarpe n'a pas essayé de décider Anicet à célébrer'. Je crois qu'ici encore peu de mots suffisent pour récuser cette traduction. Pour la justifier M. Richard cite Kühner–Gerth, *Ausf. Gramm. der griech. Sprache*, t. II, p. 140, qui parlent du soi-disant présent et imparfait *de conatu* avec les verbes imperfectifs comme *πείθειν, διδόναι*[38]. Malheureusement ce qui est dit est valable, comme il est clairement formulé par Kühner–Gerth, pour le présent et l'imparfait mais non pas pour l'aoriste. Or, dans notre texte il s'agit d'un aoriste. Dans le 'Kühner–Gerth' M. Richard aurait pu lire un peu plus loin dans le paragraphe sur l'aoriste[39] (je cite en allemand comme M. Richard le fait): "Der Gegensatz des Aorists zum Imperfekt (und Präsens) tritt besonders klar zu Tage bei denjenigen Verben, deren Präsens und Imperfekt das Hinstreben nach einem Ziele darstellen, wie *πείθειν, διδόναι, ἄγειν, πέμπειν, πράττειν* u.a. Hier hebt der Aorist, und zwar nicht bloss im Indikativ, sondern auch in den übrigen Formen, als Form der abgeschlossenen Handlung die Erreichung des Zieles nachdrücklich hervor: *πείθειν* zureden – *πεῖσαι* überreden." Cela veut dire que la traduction proposée par M. Richard[40] est inadmissible: *οὔτε . . . ἔπεισεν* ne peut pas avoir, selon les règles très strictes du grec, le sens de: '(et Polycarpe) n'a pas essayé de décider (Anicet à célébrer)'. L'aoriste *ἔπεισεν* a son plein sens résultatif (perfectif): convaincre, persuader: 'Polycarpe n'arriva pas à convaincre, ne persuada pas.'

Irénée conclut par les mots suivants qui doivent exhorter Victor à une attitude conciliante: 'Les choses étant ainsi, ils furent en communion, et, à l'église, Anicet céda l'Eucharistie à Polycarpe,

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35 O.c., p. 190.
36 Kühner–Gerth, *Ausf. Gramm. der griech. Sprache*, I, p. 204 s.
37 O.c., *ibid.*
38 La phrase citée se trouve en réalité dans le tome I.
39 O.c., p. 154.
40 O.c., p. 193.

par déférence évidemment, et ils se séparèrent en paix. Toute l'Église avait la paix *καὶ τῶν τηρούντων καὶ τῶν μὴ τηρούντων.*[41] Comme je l'ai déjà fait observer, le pivot de tout le passage d'Irénée est l'antithèse *τηρεῖν / μὴ τηρεῖν*, tant de fois répétée. L'opinion traditionnelle, qui est aussi maintenue par M. Nautin, est que *τηρεῖν* se rapporte à la célébration quarto-décimane ('observer, célébrer le quatorzième jour'), tandis que *μὴ τηρεῖν* est dit de la Pâque dominicale. Cette opinion a été abandonnée par Holl et Richard qui veulent interpréter *μὴ τηρεῖν* comme 'ne pas célébrer (la Pâque)': à l'époque qui nous occupe on aurait célébré la Pâque selon le rite quartodéciman (*τηρεῖν*) dans les pays marqués par le judéo-christianisme, tandis qu'ailleurs, notamment à Rome avant Soter, on n'aurait pas célébré la Pâque, chaque dimanche ramenant le souvenir de la résurrection du Seigneur (*μὴ τηρεῖν*).

Si nous examinons encore une fois les textes que nous venons d'étudier, il est clair qu'aux yeux d'Eusèbe il s'agit clairement de la célébration dominicale de la Pâque d'une part, d'une célébration quartodécimane de l'autre. Toutefois ceci ne prouve rien pour la réalité historique: tout comme Eusèbe emploie des termes qui appartiennent à une époque plus tardive[42], il peut avoir transposé à une époque antérieure ce qui lui était familier. Il faut donc examiner les documents anciens, à savoir les fragments des lettres insérés par Eusèbe dans son texte. Les fragments de Polycrate ne semblent pas fournir d'indices concluants. Mais le fragment d'Irénée suggère, me semble-t-il, une célébration pascale qui ne pourrait pas être une simple liturgie hebdomadaire, ramenant le souvenir de la résurrection. Or, quand Irénée parle du problème du jeûne pascal, pratiqué de manières diverses, rien ne suggère qu'il s'agit d'un jeûne hebdomadaire pour les *μὴ τηροῦντες*. Et quand il parle d'une *ποικιλία*, diversité d'observances: *οὐ νῦν ἐφ' ἡμῶν γεγονυῖα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν*[43], il est clair qu'il pense à des pratiques diverses, anciennes et non pas à une antithèse: absence de célébration annuelle – célébration.

Soter a été évêque de Rome de 167 environ jusqu'à 174. Irénée a visité Rome en 177 ou 176 pour porter une lettre au successeur

[41] *H. E.* V, 24, 15.
[42] Cf. p. 156 et 158 s.
[43] *H. E.* V, 24, 12.

immédiat de Soter, Eleutherius. Il me semble impossible qu'Irénée, homme précis et bon observateur qui avait le sens de la réalité, qui s'intéressait au détail historique, n'eût pas su que Soter avait introduit la célébration pascale à Rome, voire qu'il avait considéré comme une ancienne *συνήθεια* ce qui, en réalité, était tout à fait récent. Dans le récit concernant Polycarpe Irénée fait encore dire à Anicet *τὴν συνήθειαν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πρεσβυτέρων ὀφείλειν κατέχειν*: 'celui-ci disait devoir maintenir la coutume des presbytres ses prédécesseurs'.[44] Ici encore il s'agit pour Irénée d'une coutume, d'une célébration, ancienne, pendant normal de la célébration quartodécimane.

Mais si les textes cités semblent supposer l'existence d'une célébration pascale à Rome avant le pape Soter, il faut trouver une explication acceptable du couple *τηρεῖν* / *μὴ τηρεῖν*.

Il faut d'abord déterminer le sens exact du verbe *τηρεῖν* et son usage dans le grec des chrétiens des premiers siècles. Je me borne à *τηρεῖν* au sens de 'observer, s'en tenir à, garder'. Le verbe se trouve dans le grec classique avec des objets comme *ὅρκους* (Démocr.), *παρακαταθήκας* (Isocrate), *εἰρήνην* (Démosthène). Il s'agit toujours d'un engagement, d'une obligation. *Τηρεῖν* ne s'emploie pas, dans le grec profane, pour la célébration d'un jour de fête ou de rites religieux.

Quoique *τηρεῖν* se trouve une trentaine de fois dans les LXX on ne le rencontre que deux fois au sens qui nous occupe ici, à savoir *Tob.* 14, 9: *σὺ δὲ τήρησον τὸν νόμον καὶ τὰ προστάγματα* et 1 *Reg.* 15, 10: *καὶ ἐγενήθη ῥῆμα κυρίου πρὸς Σαμουηλ λέγων . . . τοὺς λόγους μου οὐκ ἐτήρησεν.*

Quoique *τηρεῖν* au sens d'observer ne soit donc pas un terme courant dans les LXX, les deux tournures que nous avons signalées semblent être à l'origine de l'usage, très fréquent, de *τηρεῖν* dans le Nouveau Testament.

La formule *τηρεῖν τὸν νόμον* se rapportant à la Loi de Moïse, tournure sans doute usuelle dans le judaïsme des premiers siècles chrétiens, se trouve *Act.* 15, 5 et *Jac.* 2, 10. Tandis que *τηρεῖν τὸν νόμον* est dit de la Loi de Moïse, un autre terme, clairement inspiré par la tournure juive, devient courant pour désigner l'observance

[44] *Ibid.* 16.

de la Loi de la Nouvelle Alliance, des commandements du Christ: *τηρεῖν τὰς ἐντολάς* (*τὴν ἐντολήν*). La formule se trouve avec le pluriel *ἐντολάς*: *Matth.* 19, 17; *Ioh.* 14, 15; 15, 10; 1 *Ioh.* 2, 3; 4; 3, 22; 24; 5, 3; *Apoc.* 12, 17; 14, 12. A côté du pluriel employé dans les évangiles de Mathieu et de Jean, dans la première épître de Jean et dans l'Apocalypse, on trouve chez saint Paul, 1 *Tim.* 6, 14 le singulier *ἐντολήν*, peut-être sous l'influence du singulier *νόμον*. Dans les textes évangéliques Jésus parle de ses commandements, qui doivent être gardés par ceux qui l'aiment afin d'atteindre à la *ζωή*, la vraie vie de l'âme. Dans l'épître de Jean il s'agit également des commandements de Jésus, tandis que dans l'Apocalypse il est parlé des *ἐντολαί τοῦ θεοῦ*. L'usage dans l'Apocalypse est d'ailleurs moins stable que celui des deux évangiles et de la lettre de Jean. On y trouve: *τηρεῖν τὰ . . . γεγραμμένα* (sc. dans l'Apocalypse) 1, 3; *τηρεῖν . . . τὰ ἔργα*, 2, 26; *ἐτήρησάς μου τὸν λόγον*, 3, 8 semble refléter 1 *Reg.* 15, 10 [45]. Dans *Apoc.* 3, 10: *ὅτι ἐτήρησας τὸν λόγον τῆς ὑπομονῆς μου, κἀγώ σε τηρήσω* il s'agit d'un jeu de mots avec les deux sens de *τηρεῖν*. La tournure *τηρεῖν τοὺς λόγους* qui se trouve à la fin de l'Apocalypse (22, 7 et 9) se rapporte directement aux termes du prologue, 1, 3.

Dans l'évangile de Jean, dans lequel nous avons rencontré une seule fois la tournure *τὰς ἐντόλας τηρεῖν*, la forme usuelle est *τὸν λόγον τηρεῖν*: celui qui garde la parole de Jésus, garde en même temps la parole du Père (*Ioh.* 8, 51; 52; 14, 23; 24; 15, 20; 17, 6). La même tournure se trouve 1 *Ioh.* 2, 5.

Restent deux textes qui se placent clairement dans la tradition juive: *Marc.* 7, 9: *καλῶς ἀθετεῖτε τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα τὴν παράδοσιν ὑμῶν τηρήσητε.* C'est l'antithèse des commandements de Dieu (*ἐντολή*) et de la tradition des 'anciens', des préceptes et des pratiques introduits par les rabbins. Et, pour terminer, *Ioh.* 9, 16 *τηρεῖν* est employé pour l'observance du Sabbat: *ἔλεγον οὖν ἐκ τῶν Φαρισαίων τινές· οὐκ ἔστιν οὗτος παρὰ θεοῦ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὅτι τὸ σάββατον οὐ τηρεῖ.* Ce sont les seuls textes du NT où *τηρεῖν* est employé pour une observance juive.

De ce que nous venons de voir il appert que l'usage néotestamentaire de *τηρεῖν* se place nettement dans une tradition juive. Le

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[45] Voir p. 166.

terme s'emploie de l'observation de la Loi, des commandements du Christ qui ont remplacé la Loi, et de rites ou de pratiques juives. La tradition juive se retrouve chez Josèphe: *τηρεῖν τοὺς νόμους* (notez le pluriel), *c. Ap.* 2, 273; *τηρεῖν τὰ νόμιμα Ant.* 8, 395; 9, 222.

Dans la littérature chrétienne du deuxième siècle *τηρεῖν*, au sens d'observer est employé une fois dans la lettre du Pseudo-Barnabé, 10, 11: *μετὰ τῶν λαλούντων τὰ δικαιώματα κυρίου καὶ τηρούντων*, avec *δικαιώματα* 'commandements', selon l'usage néotestamentaire. D'autre part *τηρεῖν* se trouve très fréquemment dans le Pasteur d'Hermas, œuvre qui se place, pour une large part, dans la tradition judéo-chrétienne. L'usage y reflète d'une part l'idiome néotestamentaire, d'autre part *τηρεῖν* rentre dans le cadre de la pratique de la pénitence et du jeûne. La tournure néotestamentaire *τηρεῖν τὰς ἐντολάς* se lit: [46] 37, 5 (*Mand.* VII, 5); 46, 4 (*Mand.* XII, 3, 4) en alternance avec *φυλάττειν*; 49, 3 (*Mand.* XII, 6, 3); 54, 5 (*Sim.* V, 1, 5) avec *προστάγματα* cf. *Tob.* 14, 9 [47]; 56, *passim* (*Sim.* V, 3); 61, 4 (*Sim.* VI, 1, 4). Dans 56, 3 (*Sim.* V, 3, 3) *τηρεῖν* est joint à *λειτουργία* au sens de 'bonnes œuvres', mais l'idée de *ἐντολή* (ici commandement du pasteur) y figure également: *ἐὰν . . . προσθῇς καὶ τὰς λειτουργίας ταύτας, χαρήσῃ, ἐὰν τηρήσῃς αὐτὰς κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἐντολήν. Τηρεῖν* a donc le sens de 'pratiquer, faire des bonnes œuvres'. *Τηρεῖν τὸν νόμον* se lit dans 69, 3; 4; 5 (*Sim.* VIII, 3, 3; 4; 5), *τηρεῖν τὰ νόμιμα* 3, 4 (*Vis.* I, 3, 4), *τηρεῖν τὴν ἁγνείαν καὶ τὴν σεμνότητα* 32, 3 (*Mand.* IV, 4, 3). La tournure *τηρεῖν τὴν νηστείαν* qui se rencontre dans 56, 5 (*Sim.* V, 3, 5) appartient au domaine des pratiques religieuses. Le verbe se trouve d'ailleurs maintes fois, comme je l'ai déjà fait observer, dans le chapitre 56 qui parle du jeûne et des bonnes œuvres (*νηστεία-λειτουργίαι*). Il ressort de ce chapitre qu'Hermas a à sa disposition deux termes pour 'pratiquer, observer', à savoir *τηρεῖν* et *φυλάττειν*; il les emploie tous les deux avec *ἐντολαί* avec *λειτουργία* et avec *νηστεία*, indifféremment.

Quand on compare l'usage d'Hermas (le seul auteur du second siècle qui avec le Pseudo-Barnabé emploie *τηρεῖν* 'observer') avec celui du Nouveau Testament, on constate qu'ils sont identiques;

[46] Je donne la numérotation nouvelle introduite par Joly et par Whittaker en y ajoutant la numérotation traditionnelle.

[47] Voir p. 166.

en outre, l'emploi fréquent de ce terme dans le domaine des pratiques religieuses, notamment celle du jeûne, peut être considéré comme une innovation qui, sur le plan chrétien, continue une tradition juive. C'est dans le cadre de ce dernier usage qu'il faut placer le *τηρεῖν* relatif à la célébration de la Pâque que nous avons trouvé chez Irénée. Mais cet usage, par son caractère même, semble plus apte à désigner la Pâque quartodécimane qui continue une tradition juive que la Pâque dominicale. Reste encore une observation importante: dans tous les textes étudiés jusqu'ici *τηρεῖν* est toujours suivi d'un objet. L'usage absolu de *τηρεῖν* que nous avons rencontré dans la lettre d'Irénée semble un phénomène unique dans nos sources.

Avant de tirer des conclusions des constatations faites jusqu'ici, un autre examen s'impose. On voudrait savoir quels sont, dans le dossier que nous étudions, les termes employés pour la célébration de la Pâque et la pratique du jeûne pascal, hors du *τηρεῖν* employé absolument qui se trouve exclusivement dans la lettre d'Irénée.

Comme je l'ai déjà fait observer, la terminologie employée par Eusèbe dans ses introductions aux textes anciens reflète un usage plus tardif [48]. Il parle de *ἐπιτελεῖσθαι τὸ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου ἀναστάσεως μυστήριον* [49]. Une fois Eusèbe emploie *ἐπιτηρεῖν*, se rapportant à la célébration quartodécimane: *ἐκκλησίας . . . ἀρχαίου ἔθους παράδοσιν ἐπιτηρούσας*.[50] Ce terme semble inspiré par les mots d'Irénée qu'il résume avant de les citer; Irénée dit dans le texte qui suit: *καὶ τοιαύτη μὲν ποικιλία τῶν ἐπιτηρούντων*.[51] Le verbe composé *ἐπιτηρεῖν* est rare. Il s'emploie ici au sens absolu de 'pratiquer'. *Τηρεῖν* ayant pour Irénée un sens très spécial, il doit avoir recours, pour exprimer 'pratiquer, célébrer', à ce verbe peu usuel. Il s'agit des pratiques diverses concernant le jeûne pascal. M. Nautin et le chanoine Bardy traduisent: 'une telle diversité d'observances' et ces mots rendent parfaitement le sens. Toutefois le grec dit: la diversité de ceux qui 'pratiquent'.

Non seulement l'absence dans les autres documents de *τηρεῖν* au sens absolu est frappante, mais aussi le fait que le verbe normal

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[48] Voir p. 156 et 158 s.
[49] *H. E.* V, 23, 2; 24, 11.
[50] *H. E.* V, 24, 11.
[51] *Ibid.* 13.

pour la célébration de la Pâque, quand on en parle sans nuance polémique, semble avoir été *ἄγειν*: aussi bien Polycrate, quartodéciman, que Narcissus et ses collègues, qui préconisaient l'usage dominical, parlent de *ἄγειν*. Polycrate: *ἡμεῖς . . . ἄγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν*[52]; *καὶ πάντοτε τὴν ἡμέραν ἤγαγον οἱ συγγενεῖς μου ὅτε ὁ λαὸς ἤρνυε*[53] *τὴν ζύμην*.[54] Et Narcisse c.s.: *ὅτι τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἄγουσιν ἥπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς*.[55] On notera l'usage absolu de *ἄγειν*. Puis, avec un objet: *συμφώνως καὶ ὁμοῦ ἄγειν . . . τὴν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν* (*ibid.*) On sait que *ἄγειν* est un terme normal pour la célébration d'une fête, aussi bien dans le grec profane que dans les LXX. C'est évidemment un terme qui appartient à la langue commune et qui, comme telle, ne suggérait ni une pratique spéciale, ni une intention polémique.

Polycrate emploie une fois *τηρεῖν* avec un objet quand il parle formellement de la célébration quartodécimane: *Οὗτοι πάντες ἐτήρησαν τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης τοῦ πάσχα*[56].

Je crois que les résultats de nos investigations nous fournissent quelques indices propres à expliquer l'usage absolu de *τηρεῖν* / *μὴ τηρεῖν* dans le fragment d'Irénée. En premier lieu il s'agit d'un usage isolé, unique, qui ne se trouve nulle part ailleurs dans nos sources. Le verbe *τηρεῖν* avec objet était particulièrement usuel dans la tradition des observances juives et, surtout semble-t-il, judéo-chrétiennes. Il s'emploie pour la pratique de jeûne et de pénitence régulièrement dans le Pasteur d'Hermas, écrit dans lequel se décèle une forte influence juive. D'autre part *τηρεῖν* n'était pas, au deuxième siècle, un terme courant pour la célébration pascale. La seule fois que nous le trouvons, il se rapporte au rite quartodéciman. Le fait qu'on n'observe nulle part ailleurs l'usage absolu, semble suggérer qu'il s'agit d'une tournure courante dans un groupe spécial, d'un terme technique ou plutôt d'un terme polémique. Tout porte donc à croire que l'usage de *τηρεῖν* tel que nous le trouvons dans le fragment d'Irénée a joué un rôle dans la polémique pascale. Vu la relation du terme avec le monde juif et judéo-

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[52] *H. E.* V, 24, 2.
[53] Ne devrait-on pas lire *ἦρε* ?
[54] *Ibid.*, 6.
[55] *H. E.* V, 25.
[56] *H. E.* V, 24, 6.

chrétien, on devrait chercher ses origines dans les cercles des quartodécimans. Or, c'est dans les groupes solidaires et surtout sous la pression de persécutions, de conflits, de polémiques que des tournures brachylogiques se produisent et deviennent courantes. Dans la polémique quartodécimane qui sûrement n'était pas sans âpreté, les chrétiens d'Asie semblent avoir créé cette tournure brachylogique pour mettre l'accent sur le caractère ancien de leur célébration pascale, qui était pour eux un *τηρεῖν*, une observance au sens plein et biblique du mot. Une fois cet usage devenu courant, il entraîna nécessairement la désignation négative *μὴ τηρεῖν*, appliquée à ceux qui préconisaient une autre observance, à savoir la célébration dominicale. Il s'agit donc, me semble-t-il, d'une terminologie issue d'une polémique et qui, comme telle, ne pouvait ni devenir courante, ni persister. C'était une vraie arme occasionnelle de combat.

Mais pourquoi Irénée l'a-t-il employée dans son récit? Faut-il en conclure, avec M. Nautin [57], que ce passage nous laisse voir sa conviction intime, ce qui voudrait dire que, tout en pratiquant l'usage dominical, Irénée était convaincu de la priorité et peut-être de la supériorité du rite quartodéciman? Cette conclusion ne s'impose pas. Irénée était originaire d'Asie, il était en contact régulier avec les chrétientés de son pays natal. Sans doute il était au courant de tous les détails de la lutte pascale. Il savait parler la langue des 'combattants'. En employant, et répétant les deux mots-clefs du conflit, il en évoque l'âpreté et par là même met en lumière la sagesse et la modération des anciens évêques romains. Ainsi ce passage de la lettre de saint Irénée devient un témoignage vécu, un rapport plein de vivacité d'une lutte acharnée qui a sévi dans le sein de l'Église du second siècle et dans laquelle Irénée a joué, selon les paroles d'Eusèbe, le rôle d'un vrai *εἰρηνηποιός*, d'un vrai pacificateur: "et Irénée portait bien son nom, car il était pacificateur par son nom comme par sa conduite." [58]

Nijmegen, 40 Sint Annastraat

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[57] O.c., p. 84.
[58] *H. E.* V, 24, 18.

JUSTIN'S APOLOGY I. 62–64: ITS IMPORTANCE FOR THE AUTHOR'S TREATMENT OF CHRISTIAN BAPTISM

BY

CULLEN I. K. STORY

It is generally agreed that Justin's exegesis (ἐξήγησις, 61:1) in Apology I. 61–67, focusing as it does upon the sacraments of baptism (61–65:1) and the Lord's supper (65:2–66:4), and upon the observance of the Lord's day (67), portrays a vivid and realistic account of second century Christian life and worship. Candidates for Christian baptism are first led to where there is water and are baptized (61:3). After baptism they are brought into the presence of the Christian congregation (65:1). Christians greet one another with the holy kiss (65:2). Bread and wine mingled with water are brought to the leader, and, after thanksgiving and participation by the baptized believers who are present (66:1), deacons take the eucharistic elements to those believers who are absent (65:3–5). In I. 66 the Eucharist is explained. As for the Lord's day (67), at each local gathering one of the congregation reads the "memoirs" of the apostles and the writings of the prophets, the "president" instructs the congregation on the basis of the reading, the congregation stands to pray and then partakes of the Eucharist, and the deacons take the Eucharist to believers who are absent. Also, a voluntary offering is deposited with the president for distribution to those who are in need. In conclusion, Justin cites the significance of the Lord's day. It is the day on which God brought light out of darkness (Gen. 1) and the day on which Jesus Christ arose from the dead. Such, in brief, is the content of I. 61–67, a writing generally accepted as a lucid account of the worship of the second century Christians — at least as far as Justin knew that worship.

It has been held, however, that in I. 62–64 Justin departs from his main topic. Except for the argument that demons counterfeited the baptismal rite after its prediction by Isaiah,

I. 62–64 has often been taken as a digression that has little connection with the theme of Christian baptism which is developed in I. 61 and resumed in 65:1 [1]. It must be admitted that the first few words of 65:1 *(Ἡμεῖς δὲ μετὰ τὸ οὕτως λοῦσαι τὸν πεπεισμένον)* do leap back over the three preceding chapters and unite directly with the last three words of 61:13 *(ὁ φωτιζόμενος λούεται)* [2]. It is the opinion of this writer, however, that the intervening chapters (i.e. I. 62–64) contain no real digression but actually set forth an important continuation to Justin's argument [3]. That argument is two-fold:

1. The rite of baptism both originates in, and rests on, the authority of the triune God, and relates the newly baptized to that authority, and

2. The rite of baptism bestows on the ones baptized the knowledge *(ἐπιστήμη)* of the forgiveness of sins as well as illumination or insight *(φωτισμός)* into the content of the Christian faith.

It is precisely these two emphases at baptism, i.e. the authority of God and the knowledge of new Christians, which underlie the argument in I. 62–64.

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[1] Cf. A. W. F. Blunt, *The Apologies of Justin Martyr* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1911), p. 94, "This [i.e. chap. 63] is a chapter of digression". Earlier than Blunt, Carolus de Otto, *Justini Philosophi et Martyris Opera* (Jena: Prostat in Libraria Hermanni Dufft, 1876), Vol. I, Part I, p. 176, indicated, in reference to Apol. I, 64, that Justin has now returned to the subject of pagan counterfeits from which he digressed (*unde digressus est*, i.e. at I, 62). Otto's text gives a somewhat different impression by its paragraph spacing placed immediately before I, 63 and immediately following I, 64. This spacing indicates that, in the editor's view, neither chap. 63 nor chap. 64 has any close connection with Justin's main argument.

[2] The text followed here and throughout this article is that of G. Krüger, *Die Apologieen Justins des Märtyrers* (Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1904).

[3] On an entirely different level, John 13:33–36 contains a similar literary feature. In v. 33 Jesus announces to His disciples that He is going away (*ἐγὼ ὑπάγω*). In view of His departure, in vs. 34–35, He announces the new commandment of love. In v. 36, however, the question of Peter "Where are you going" (*ποῦ ὑπάγεις*) leaps back over the commandment of love and connects directly with Jesus' initial announcement (v. 33). Nevertheless, the intervening verses (34–35) certainly constitute no digression but actually form an important sequel to Jesus' announcement (v. 33).

That this double emphasis is present in I. 61 is clear.

1. First of all, Justin states the origin of Christian baptism. God is the Lord of this Christian sacrament because He foretold it through the prophet (Isa. 1:16–20). 'The mouth of the Lord has spoken these things' (61:8). Baptism is the prophetic divine imperative *λούσασθε* which finds its fulfillment in the Christian *λουτρόν*. In this connection there is no question about Justin's meaning in 61:9. This brief sentence may be paraphrased thus: "From the apostles we learned that this passage in Isa. 1:16–20 is a word that has to do with baptism" [the neuter demonstrative pronoun *τοῦτο* clearly refers back to *λουτρόν*][4]. The free quotation in 61:4 from John 3:3 and/or 3:5 and the evident allusion in 61:5 to the wider context of John 3, apparently comprise the specific apostolic tradition to which Justin here refers. But if this sacrament originates in God it must also rely on His authority. To show further that God is the Lord of this Christian sacrament, Justin (I. 61) refers to the name of the Trinity twice. In the first reference (61:3) the word *ὄνομα* occurs only once – one name but three Persons, as in Matt. 28:19. In the second reference (61:10–13) *ὄνομα* occurs three times – once with each Person of the Trinity. Justin apparently suggests that there is a double meaning in the connection of God's name to the Christian baptismal rite. *First*, the name of God in Christian baptism means that those who baptize do so on the authority of the triune God. They act on the basis of God's name. We should probably attach considerable weight to Justin's phraseology. He writes as follows in 61:3, *ἐπ' ὀνόματος γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς . . . καὶ τοῦ . . . Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου . . . λουτρὸν ποιοῦνται*[5]. The difference in Justin's phrase *ἐπ' ὀνόματος* from the Matthaean formula *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα* (Matt. 28:19) may be purposeful. The preposition *ἐπί* with the genitive is similar in meaning here to its sense in 1 Tim. 5:19;

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[4] It is striking that Justin claims an apostolic application of Isa. 1:16–20 for Christian baptism. There is no definite NT passage to this effect. Nor does any extant writing of any church father before Justin quote or allude to the Isaianic passage in the context of Christian baptism (cf. I Clem. VIII, 4).

[5] Basil L. Gildersleeve, *The Apologies of Justin Martyr* (New York: Harper & Co., 1877), p. 192 believes that *λουτρὸν ποιοῦνται* = *λοῦνται*.

Matt. 18:16; 2 Cor. 13:1; Hebr. 7:11 [6], where the idea of an appeal to authority is likewise present. Justin means that the baptism of the new believers reveals the authority of the triune God as the true basis for the action of those who baptize. They act in God's name. *Second*, the name of God in Christian baptism means that believers are brought under the authority or control of God (61:10). Chap. 61:10 consists of a rather long and involved sentence, but the sense is clear. The main verb and subject are *ἐπονομάζεται . . . τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς . . . ὄνομα* and the meaning is that the name of the Father is actually given in the baptismal water *(ἐν τῷ ὕδατι)* to the one who has decided to be born anew and has repented of his sins [7]. The compound verb *ἐπονομάζω* "to impose a name" (active) or "to have a name imposed" (passive) [8], occurs only once in the NT (Rom. 2:17) where it is possibly middle, i.e. "if you lay claim to the name Jew . . ." (cf. the different verb but similar sense in Rev. 2:9, "those who claim to be Jews but are not"). In Justin, however, the verb is clearly passive. The baptismal candidate by himself lays no claim to the name of God, but, at baptism that name is imposed upon him. The final clause of 61:10 makes this certain, for, it is the baptizer, the one who acts on the authority God gives to him, who both leads the candidate to the place of baptism and confesses over him *(ἐπιλέγοντος)* the very name of God. In brief, what 61:10 asserts is that God lays claim to men's lives as men present themselves for Christian baptism. Through His servants who do the baptizing God marks out those being baptized as His very own.

2. Apol. I. 61 not only explains that baptism originates with and rests upon the authority of God. It likewise singles out the new knowledge *(ἐπιστήμη)* which the baptized ones receive of God's forgiveness, as well as the new insight or illumination *(φωτισμός)* which they gain into the content of the Christian faith. The *φωτισμός* emphasizes the fact that the one receiving Christian

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[6] W. Bauer, W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 286a.

[7] *The Shepherd of Hermas* witnesses to the concept that at baptism the Christian receives God's name. Cf. Bauer–Arndt–Gingrich, *op. cit.*, p. 575a–b.

[8] W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911), p. 64.

baptism thereby shares in the new knowledge of the Father and the Son. Furthermore, though the baptized ones were once without knowledge (*ἀγνοοῦντες*, 61:10) as a result of their physical generation, they do not remain in *ἀγνοίᾳ*, but out of voluntary choice and knowledge (*ἐπιστήμη*) they attain the forgiveness of sins. But this is not all. According to 61:12, in the very seed-plot (*διανοία*) of their thoughts, the newly baptized are constantly being flooded with light as they continue to learn the new faith. In this connection the present participles *φωτιζομένων* and *μανθανόντων* should be given a durative emphasis.

Thus, in I. 61 the double meaning of Christian baptism is, first, that it is based in God, and second, that it effects knowledge in man. The thesis of the present article is that these same two features underlie I. 62–64.

1. As for the first emphasis, Justin argues that the demonic counterfeit baptism (I. 62) means basically that demons impose not God's authority but their own authority on their worshipers so that they sprinkle and wash themselves (*ῥαντίζειν* and *λούεσθαι*) before they perform their ceremonial ritual. The apologist uses both *ἐνήργησαν*, the aorist tense, and *ἐνεργοῦσι*, the present tense, to describe this demonic work. Moreover, this demonic control is evident in the way that the demons, by copying the command given to Moses at the burning bush (Exod. 3:5), command their devotees through their priests (*κελεύεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερατευόντων*, 62:2) to remove their sandals prior to carrying out the cultic rites. Here is the real counterfeit element in I. 62. Demonic authority replaces God's authority. The reference to Moses doubtless alludes to the nature of God's authority in Christian baptism. Baptism, no less than Moses' call, originates in God. Moreover, in his subjection to the command of the One who spoke to him out of the bush (*ἐκελεύσθη*, 62:3) and in his willingness to be the channel of His mighty power (62:4), Moses admirably illustrates the power or authority of God on which those who baptize depend. In this sense, there seems to be a definite purpose in Justin's three-fold repetition of the verb *ἐξάγειν* "to lead out" (62:3, 4) with reference to Moses' activity in behalf of Israel in Egypt. The same verb in its simple form *ἄγειν*, occurs in I. 61:3, 10 and 65:1 in close connection with the baptismal rite. That is to say, God's authority

channeled through Moses to lead His people out of Egypt mirrors that Divine authority that is exercised by those Christians who lead those of the "new Israel" to the place of baptism where they are brought under the Divine authority. But that authority, says Justin, belongs to the triune God [9]. Such was Justin's emphasis in I. 61. Hence in I. 62 the apologist accents a trinitarian emphasis that continues through chapters 63–64.

Justin's apologetic in these three chapters can be summarized as follows: "Do not think it strange that the authority for our practice of baptism lies in a God who exists 'in three Persons'. Such a God is not our innovation. Rather He is the self-revealing God of earlier times. He is the Christ who appeared to Moses at the bush (I. 62). He is the God whom the Jews failed to see as both Father and Son (I. 63), for which reason the Spirit reproved them, (63:2). He is also God the Holy Spirit who presided above the waters at creation (Gen. 1:1–2), an event falsely imitated and grossly perverted by the demonic-inspired pagans in their construction of an idol to Core above the waters of Eleusis (I. 64)."

This seems clearly to be one part of the summary of Justin's argument that forms a link with his trinitarian emphasis in baptism in I. 61.

2. The other emphasis of I. 61, i.e. that baptism bestows illuminated understanding upon new believers, likewise underlies I. 62–64. What the newly baptized come to know is precisely that which the pagans knew and perverted (I. 62, 64), as well as that which the Jews do not really understand (I. 63). In 63:3 the words *οὐκ ἔγνωσαν Ἰουδαῖοι τί πατὴρ καὶ τί υἱός*, indicate the basic failure of the chosen people. It was a noetic failure. In the words of Isa. 1:3 which Justin quotes twice (63:2, 12), the ox knows *(ἔγνω)* its owner, but Israel does not know *(οὐκ ἔγνω)* her Owner. For this fatal failure not only does the Holy Spirit through the prophet reprove the Jews but Jesus Himself speaks a similar reproof, "no one knows the Father save the Son . . . and those to whom the Son reveals Him" (Matt. 11:27, quoted in 63:3, 13). Their failure lies in the fact that they do not distinguish the Persons

[9] It must not be imagined that Justin reflects any developed doctrine of the Trinity such as the fathers of the 3rd–4th centuries worked out.

of the Godhead (63:14 *ὡς οὔτε τὸν πατέρα οὔτε τὸν υἱὸν ἔγνωσαν*), but rather confuse them *(Οἱ γὰρ τὸν υἱὸν πατέρα φάσκοντες εἶναι,* 63:15). They could not comprehend that the ineffable God had a Son (63:15), and that this Son spoke from the bush (63:16), and revealed through His words that the patriarchs were actually "men of Christ Himself" (63:17). Justin indicates clearly that the Jews are at fault. They are *ἀνόητοι* and as such, they become easy prey for demonic action (63:10). They are the ones who, though having the express word in Moses that the angel of the Lord has spoken in the bush (63:11), do not understand that *ἄγγελος* does not indicate the Father. Nor do they recognize the simple truth that *ἀπόστολος* does not designate the Creator of all (63:11), but, as its root implies, *ἀπόστολος* points to the One who is sent *(ἀποστέλλεται)* by the Creator. Furthermore the *ἀπόστολος* is also *ἄγγελος*, and as such, He announces *(ἀπαγγέλλει)* what the Father commands (63:5).

As for the pagans, they have rejected what they once knew *(ἔγνωσαν)*, i.e. that God through His Logos (= Christ) made the world (64:5), and, as noted above, for the Holy Spirit and His place of activity they have substituted a counterfeit work.

The result of our investigation may be summarized in the following way:

The exegesis of I. 61 was seen to comprise two emphases. First, baptism is based on the authority of the triune God who claims the new believers as His own. And second, baptism initiates in these believers an enlightenment and a new knowledge of God of whom they continue to learn by means of the apostolic tradition (cf. 61:9, 12). With respect to the first emphasis, I. 62–64 affirms that it was the triune God who was active in ancient times, that the Jews rejected His authority, and that the pagans grossly perverted it. As for the second emphasis, in contrast to the continued learning process that begins at the baptism of Christians, I. 62–64 asserts that Jews rejected knowledge and eventually rejected even Jesus whom God sent (63:10), while pagans, though they knew the Creator God, perverted His Word and activity and turned to their own counterfeit works (62:1; 64:1ff.).

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ERRATA

Through no fault of the author, the following misprints have been made in the article "Giustino, Apol. I, 2,4" by L. Alfonsi, *Vigiliae Christianae,* Vol. XVI, No. 2, pp. 77–78.

p. 77, l. 12	*ἶστε*	must be	*ἴστε*
p. 77, l. 12	*ὄντα*	must be	*ὅντα*
p. 77, l. 13	*ὐμᾶς*	must be	*ὑμᾶς*
p. 77, l. 14	*οἶομαι*	must be	*οἴομαι*
p. 77, l. 15	*ἶσως*	must be	*ἴσως*

TWO LETTERS FROM THE CORPUS IULIANEUM

BY

W. DEN BOER

In the paper which follows, the letter from Caesar Gallus to his brother Julian (Bidez–Cumont, Appendix, p. 287), and the letter from Julian to the *Koinon* of the Jews (ibid. no. 204) are re-examined. It is at present customary, and in my opinion mistakenly, to assume that these important documents are not authentic. It is my hope that this article will provoke scholars to subject the material which Bidez and Cumont have excluded to a fresh and intensive investigation. It is of the utmost value to scrutinize once again the authenticity of these sources: the historiography of the fourth century will gain inestimably from such a study.

I

Caesar Flavius Claudius Constantius, the elder half-brother of Julian the Apostate, is judged unfavourably by the great majority of both ancient and modern historians. The terror which is supposed to have raged in Antioch during the years 351–354, when he governed the East in the name of Constantius II, is painted in the darkest possible colours by Ammianus Marcellinus [1]. The pagan rhetor Libanius concurs; the orthodox ecclesiastical tradition condemns the Arian Caesar, and only the Arians, particularly Philostorgius [2], have anything good to say about him. Their favourable opinion is shared by the pagan writer Zosimus. But since the greatest of the Roman historians after Tacitus has almost entirely determined the picture for the modern historiographers, their judgement, with very few exceptions, is exclusively condemnatory, and they reproduce unmodified Ammianus' report of

[1] Book XIV, *capita* 1, 7, 9, & 11.

[2] Especially Philostorgius III, 27; IV, 8; in the unsurpassed edition of J. Bidez (Berlin 1913).

events in the East during these three years. Even the posthumous defence which Emperor Julian made of his brother's conduct [3] is thought to be worthy of little or no attention because it is considered to have been dictated by fraternal piety rather than to be an objective version of Gallus' deeds and character [4]. Only in very recent years has another element been introduced with the appearance of two studies, those by Balducci and Thompson; the first shows some understanding of the difficult position of the Caesar in the totally bureaucraticized Empire [5], and the other clearly exposes the partiality of Ammianus [6]. This view has already influenced a recently published general history of the later empire [7]. Gallus' rule, his end, and also his youth, have been treated by me in a longer study in Dutch [8] in which I also devoted attention to the letter to his brother.

Gallus, like Constantius II, was an Arian. Ammianus, who in general has little interest in Christianity [9], makes no mention whatever of this Caesar's piety. As a result we also hear nothing from him about Gallus' friendship with the interesting figure

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[3] Epist. ad Ath., 271d, 272a.

[4] The unanimity of modern historiography is striking. See e.g. a similarly unfavourable report of Gallus by O. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, IV (1921), 120ff.; cf. the article Constantius in Pauly–Wissowa's *Realencyclopaedie*; also, J. Geffcken, *Kaiser Julianus* (1914), 18; J. Bidez, *Julien l'Apostat* (1930), quoted in the German transl. *Julian der Abrünnige* (1940), 108ff.; H. Lietzmann, *Geschichte der alten Kirche*, III (1938), 215; E. Stein, *Geschichte des spätrömischen Reiches*, I (1928), 219ff.

[5] C. A. Balducci, *Gallo*, Riv. di filol. e d'istruzione class., LXVIII (1940), 264–271.

[6] E. A. Thompson, *Ammianus' account of Gallus Caesar*, Americ. Journ. of Philol. XLIV (1943), 302–315. This essay is included in Thompson's book, *The historical work of Ammianus Marcellinus* (1947), Ch. IV: Gallus (pp. 56–71).

[7] A. Piganiol, *L'empire chrétien* (1947), *Tome* IV, 2e *partie* of the *Histoire romaine*, 91–92.

[8] Tijdschrift v. Geschiedenis 62 (1949), 161–197.

[9] See W. Ensslin, *Zur Geschichtschreibung und Weltanschauung des Ammianus Marcellinus*, Klio, Beih., N.F. III (1923), 96–102. Thompson, *op. cit.*, 114–117. The principal references made by Ammianus to Christianity are collected in my *Scriptorum paganorum I–IV saec. de Christianis testimonia* (1948), 38–39.

Theophilus and the learned Aetius [10]. How the former went to proselytize in southern Arabia and India; how on his distant voyages he is supposed to have come across an old Christian community, established by Bartholomew, which lived in complete isolation; how after his return he became very influential with the bigoted Constantius; how he became friends with Gallus and had to pay for this friendship to the extent of being twice exiled; – all this is told by Philostorgius. This missionary is one of the few who dared to tell Constantius the truth. Even if the surviving material tends to soften the picture a bit too much in his favour, the final impression is nevertheless that Theophilus was a courageous man with an independent mind. That he was on terms of friendship with him, speaks well for Gallus.

The relationship between Aetius and Gallus was at first not too good [11]. Two bishops had accused the philosopher-theologian before the Caesar. We remain in the dark as to their motives. In all probability it had something to do with an ecclesiastical controversy, because Aetius belonged to the Arian wing which was most extreme in its deviation from the orthodox standpoint [12]; it is also possible that the accusers involved this son of Antioch in some way or other in the conflict between the rich citizens of the city and Gallus [13].

Whatever the situation, the bishop of Antioch, Leontius, came to Aetius' defense. The young Caesar, who had always worked in complete harmony with Leontius and was to do so with his

[10] For the lives of both see the index to Bidez' edition of Philostorgius. Cf. for Theophilus also: Bidez, *Julian*, 43–46; 75, 117, & 119–120; for Aetius: Bidez, *Julian*, 101ff.; Geffcken, *op. cit.*, 101; A. Puech, *Hist. de la littérature grecque chrétienne*, III, 624.

[11] Philostorg. III, 27.

[12] He was the teacher of Eunomius, and the orthodox bestowed on him the name of "atheos".

[13] Others were later accused before Constantius for this reason. Philostor. IV, 8: "Initiates and participants of the rebellion in the time of Gallus". Bidez, under the influence of the hostile tradition, speaks of *Mitschuld an Gallus' Empörung* (Index to his edition of Philostorg., under Aetius), which is not to be found in this report. This passage clearly shows that Philostorgius does not believe in Gallus' guilt. The (false) motive for the accusation against these bishops, i.e. that they had supported Gallus' attempt at revolution, is nowhere stated by him.

successor Eudoxius, together with Constantia granted an audience to Aetius, who won his suit. After that he became Gallus' confidant, and was even entrusted more than once with the delicate assignment of investigating the state of Julian's faith when rumours of the latter's apostasy reached the elder brother. He too was condemned to exile when Constantius came to revenge himself on Gallus' friends, and was not summoned back, with honours, by Julian until 362. In the relevant letter the new emperor alludes to their earlier meetings [14].

It is clear from these friendships that Gallus conducted himself as a faithful Arian and as such enjoyed the respect of the high authorities of the Church. This is the background of his letter to Julian in which serious concern for his brother's religious firmness is expressed [15] in the following terms:

"Gallus Caesar to his brother Julian, Greeting. My nearness to the country, I mean to Ionia, has brought me the greatest possible gain. For it gave me comfort when I was troubled and pained at the first reports that came to me. You will understand what I mean. It came to my ears that you had abandoned your former mode of worship which was handed down by our ancestors, and goaded by some evil kind of madness that incited you to this, had betaken yourself to that vain superstition. What pain should I not have suffered? For just as whenever I learn by public rumour of any noble quality in you I regard it as a personal gain, so too if I hear of anything disturbing, which, however, I do not think I shall, in the same way I consider it even more my personal loss. Therefore when I was troubled about these matters, the presence of our father Aetius cheered me, for he reported the very contrary, which was what I prayed to hear. Moreover he said that you were zealous in attending at the houses of prayer, and that you are

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[14] Bidez, *L'empereur Julien, oeuvres complètes*, I, 1: *Lettres et fragments* (1924), nr. 46, p. 65: cf. Introduction, p. 39.

[15] *Juliani imperatoris epistulae leges poemata fragmenta varia*, ed. J. Bidez et F. Cumont (1922), p. 287. W. C. Wright, *The works of the emperor Julian* (The Loeb Classical Library), III (1923), nr. 82, p. 228. Most authors consider this letter spurious (Geffcken, *op. cit.*, 17, 130–1; Bidez, besides the edition cited, also in *Julian*, 102, 389). Seeck, *Unterg.*, IV, 124, 440, accepts it as genuine, although without giving his grounds for doing so.

not being drawn away from pious remembrance of the martyrs, and he affirmed that you entirely adhere to the religion of our family. So I would say to you in the words of Homer, "Shoot on in this wise", and rejoice those who love you by being spoken of in such terms, remembering that nothing is higher than religion. For supreme virtue teaches us to hate a lie as treachery and to cling to the truth, which truth is most clearly made manifest in the worship of the Divine Being. For a crowd is wholly contentious and unstable; but the Deity, subservient to none[16], rules the universe, not by division or lot, like the sons of Cronus, but existing from the beginning and having power over all things, not having received it from another by violence, but existing before all. This is verily God, whom we must adore with the reverence that we owe him. Farewell!" [17]

During the time that Gallus was in Antioch, Julian was studying in Pergamum and Ephesus. Now that he had returned to the East, Gallus could obtain information about his brother, and the letter shows that for him the matter is serious. The very arguments advanced by those who doubt its authenticity argue, in my opinion, for the genuineness of this so completely human document. Doubts have been raised that Gallus could speak of "your former mode of worship which was handed down by our ancestors", because, according to this line of reasoning Constantine the Great had only two generations before achieved the conversion to Christianity in his family. But this kind of reasoning (e.g. by Geffcken) is evidence of a complete failure to understand the situation in which the letter was written! Gallus has been reassured by Aetius, but is nonetheless impelled in this letter by the wish to prevent his brother from taking the wrong path, the path on which he suspected his brother had already set foot. The reference

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[16] I follow here Heyler's reading *οὐδενὶ ὑπουργόν*, which better expresses the Arian point of view. The textual tradition gives *σὺν ἑνὶ ὑπουργὸν ὄν*: "ministering together with One" (i.e. the Demiurge, the deity of the world). Even though Gallus was no theologian, it may nevertheless be assumed that intensive contact with a variety of bishops had given him great familiarity with the Arian concept of God.

[17] Except for the passage dealt with in the previous note, the translation is W. C. Wright's in the Loeb-edition.

to the religion of their forefathers is an exaggeration [18], provoked by missionary zeal. Other sources vividly confirm his religious zeal [19]. The sympathy with martyrs is for him the touchstone of the adherence to the Christian faith, because for the pagans this attitude was outrageous and disgusting. Gallus himself greatly honoured the martyrs and as a defence against demons brought the remains of the martyr Babylus, bishop of Antioch, to the sacred precincts of Apollo in Daphne, just outside the city [20].

A second piece of so-called evidence against the authenticity of this letter (again put forward by Geffcken) is that the letter makes Julian seem a hypocrite; Julian is said to have always been honest about his convictions; Aetius would thus have immediately been aware of the young man's doubts about, even antipathy to, Christianity, and could never have given Gallus a reassuring report. And *if* Julian had been dishonest, he could never, after putting on such a performance, have written in such a friendly way about their agreeable meetings in the past (in letter no. 46, ed. Bidez). In brief: the letter is a Christian forgery to denigrate Julian; its existence was known even to Philostorgius, who reports that Aetius frequently visited Julian (III, 27). – This objection, too, fails to hold water. It is completely inconsistent to reject Philostorgius' report and accept Julian's own reference to earlier meetings. But in addition, Gallus' letter, in speaking of the fulfillment of religious duties, conveys only what Julian maintained until long after his apostasy in 351, to the extent that his vociferous eulogist Libanius remarks in this connection that Aesop, had he known Julian's

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[18] I wish, however, expressly to leave open the possibility that the word "ancestors" or "forefathers" may be used for "parents". Cf. I Tim. 5, 4, where the Vulgate correctly translates: *mutuam vicem reddere parentibus* (I am indebted for this example to Prof. van Unnik of the University of Utrecht). The use of this word *πρόγονοι* is much favoured by the emperors after Diocletian to maintain the fiction of a relationship with their predecessors; the meaning is then more that of 'maiores' than of 'generations back'; see W. Ensslin in Klio XVIII (1923), 130. As a consequence, the meaning of the word became so generally "the forbears" that Gallus could very well have used it without the qualified meaning of "our forefathers far removed".

[19] Sozom. III, 15, 8; Greg. Naz., or. IV, 24; Artemii Passio 44; Theodor. H. E., III, 3, 1. See also Seeck, *Unterg.*, IV, 439–440.

[20] Sozom. V, 19, 5. The history of Babylus in Philostorg. VII, 8.

story, would have written a fable of the lion in the donkey's skin instead of the donkey in the lion's skin [21]. Libanius' words are certainly not a cunning Christian insertion! In the final analysis, the most conclusive evidence that Julian concealed his apostasy for some years is contained in the panegyric of Constantine (Or. I) in 356. Although it contains nothing whatever that is at variance with the speaker's conviction, the latter nevertheless takes care to avoid giving the slightest sign of the breach which separates him from the emperor in religious matters. The content of Gallus' letter, too, concerns externals in which Julian conforms with Christian practices: church attendance and revering of martyrs; by the latter is probably meant attendance at services on the days commemorating these saints. Aetius was too reserved to express an opinion on Julian's religiousness, as being too personal a matter. For the uncomplicated Caesar who was so easy to convince, these superficial gestures were sufficient. In his younger brother, who was barely twenty years old, the internal conflict to reach a clear conviction had not yet resolved itself when Aetius visited him. Indeed, the hope that a compromise would be reached between paganism and a philosophical form of Christianity, such as Aetius advocated, had not been relinquished by the idealistic emperor years later, as witnessed by his friendly letter to this old acquaintance. Who would be willing to try to determine how much of that which had been implanted in him during his education still continued to ferment, even after the break had been completed? What appears as hypocrisy is an expression of a fear of breaking all ties with the past. I do not deny that the need for safety under Constantine's rule played a part in this fear, but that was by no means the main motive. Anyone who has read the story of Julian's conversion in the brilliant first chapter of Bidez' biography cannot entertain any doubts concerning the uprightness of this noble figure.

The tone of brotherly affection at the beginning of the letter and the unmistakable reluctance to take up the delicate subject, the certainty that no disturbing reports concerning the younger

[21] Or. XVIII, 19; cf. Bidez, *Julian*, 104–5. For this we are therefore not exclusively dependent upon the ecclesiastical tradition of Socr. III, 1, 16 and 18ff.; Sozom. V, 2, 17; Greg. Naz. IV, 30ff.

brother will reach him (he is, to be sure, certain of this, but he does not wish to offend the other even by the mention of such a possibility), and the expression of his concern and happiness, are all so plainly real that I consider it impossible that this could be the work of a forger. The words "goaded by some evil kind of madness" demonstrate that Gallus was aware of the craving for truth which drove his brother in directions in which he himself, with his uncomplicated nature and inherent easy-goingness (*inertia*, Amm. XXI, 1, 2), would never feel inclined to venture. Although the last part of the letter is full of the platitudes of Christian apologetics (for which Gallus can hardly be blamed), it is nonetheless made quite clear that the main issue between Christian and pagan belief lay in the controversy between monotheism and pantheism. For, however strongly a solar monotheism might preoccupy the mind, and however many other forms of religion with monotheistic elements had penetrated the pagan world, the fact remains that Christianity was categorically exclusive with respect to other religious systems. The conclusion of the letter defines the battleground. We can also understand that the Arian Gallus limited himself to this point, which was the determining factor in the conflict with the orthodox concerning the divinity of the Son. Just how deeply it affected him is conveyed by Julian later in his tract "Against the Galilaeans", in which he violently attacked in particular the exclusiveness of Christian monotheism [22].

II

Toward Judaism, Julian's attitude was one of benevolence mixed with aversion. He valued as positive the Jews' faithfulness to their God, their longing to return to their native soil, and their feeling for the traditions of their forefathers. Their exclusive monotheism, however, impressed the emperor only as intolerance.

It need hardly be said that every line of the emperor's extensive correspondence which might throw any light on his attitude toward the Jews has already been subjected to close analysis by numerous scholars. One of the points of contention in this research has been

[22] *Iuliani Imp. libr. Contra Christianos* ed. K. J. Neumann (1880), p. 177, 7–15 (= my *Testimonia*, nr. 4, p. 31).

the letter that Julian wrote to "the Community of the Jews"; this letter is included by Bidez and Cumont among the spurious letters (number 204). The authoritative judgement of these scholars is abundantly confirmed by J. Vogt, who has included in his monograph *Kaiser Julian und das Judentum* an extensive treatment of this letter in which he recapitulates the most important of the modern literature opposing its authenticity. Since the appearance of Vogt's discussion in 1939, scholars generally would seem to be of the opinion that the last word on this question has been spoken [23]. Although conclusive proof is usually difficult to supply in questions of authenticity, the following considerations do demonstrate that there are valid grounds on which the authenticity of this letter can be defended. When placed in the proper historical perspective, this document supplies a plausible explanation of Julian's attitude toward Judaism shortly before the expedition against Persia during which he met his death. Before going further, I will give a translation according to the text of Bidez–Cumont:

To the community of the Jews

"By far the most onerous factor of the yoke of slavery in times past has been that you have been subordinated to unannounced assessments and have brought into the treasury's account an untold amount of gold coin, of which I used to see with my own eyes many instances, but I have discovered more of these by finding the lists kept concerning you. Besides, I forbade a tax again about to be ordered against you and I forced the impiety of such dishonor to stop here and I consigned to the fire the lists concerning you kept in my bureaus, so that none any longer can direct against you such a report of impiety. And not so much responsible for these measures against you was my brother Constantius, deserving of memory, as were the men, barbarian in mind and atheistic in soul, the feasters at his table, whom I, seizing in my hands, slew by pushing into a pit, so that not even the memory of their destruction might remain still among us.

[23] To the best of my knowledge, the authenticity of this letter has been defended only once in recent years, see A. C. Johnson, P. R. Coleman-Norton, F. C. Bourne, Ancient Roman Statutes, Texas 1961, nr. 313.

Furthermore, desiring that you should fare well, I have advised my brother Julus the most reverend patriarch, that the contribution said to exist among you should be stopped and that no longer anyone can harm your people by such exactions of tribute, so that from all sides you may have freedom from worry during my reign, in order that, enjoying peace, you may make still more earnest prayers for my reign to the God, superior to all and creator, who has vouchsafed to crown me with his undefiled right hand. For it is natural that persons appearing to be in anxiety should be distracted in thought and should not venture so much as to lift their hands to prayer, but that those persons who in all respects have freedom from care, rejoicing with a whole heart, should perform supplicatory acts of worship for the imperial state to the Almighty God, who can guide our imperial government to the fairest ends, exactly as we propose. And this you ought to do, that, after I also have finished the war with the Persians and have rebuilt by my efforts the holy city Jerusalem, which for many years you have desired to see inhabited, I may resettle it and in it with you may give glory to the Almighty God" [24].

Before discussing in detail the historical context in which this letter must be placed, some attention must be briefly given to those objections to its authenticity which are independent of the problem of when the letter was written. In the first place, certain arguments based on language and style are worthless because they cancel each other out. It is indeed the case that certain words occur in this letter, such as *brebia* and *skrinia*, which are not encountered anywhere else in Julian's writings, but it is also the case that typically Julian turns of phrase, known from his correspondence, are also used in this letter. It is methodologically suspect, if the first fact is advanced to oppose authenticity, to enter the second (which any unbiased reader will take as support for the authenticity) to the credit of a subtle forger, who according to Vogt "*etwas von seiner Aufgabe verstand*". A further objection is that the words *κατ' ὑμῶν* occur four times in five lines; but anyone who at all realizes how Jewry was treated under Julian's direct predecessors understands this quadruple "against you" all

[24] Translation according to Johnson *et al.*, op. cit., nr. 313.

too well. He can also grasp, by taking cognizance of the emperor's pronouncements, that this ruler who wished to follow a different course – who had professed the fundamental unity of all religions as an ideal and who therefore would not exclude any religion which revered the traditions of its forefathers – had destined a place for Judaism in his syncretistic "sanctuary" and had been deeply pained by the hostile attitude of his Christian predecessors toward the Jews and their religious customs.

What he thought of particular aspects of the Jewish religion can be clearly seen in *Contra Galilaeos*. Several passages speak for themselves. He holds it against the Christians that they do not use circumcision and do not celebrate the Passover with unleavened bread, and goes on to say: "And yet, I call the gods to witness, I am one of those who avoid keeping their festivals with the Jews; but nevertheless I revere always the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob". "But that from the beginning God cared only for the Jews and that He chose them out as his portion, has been clearly asserted not only by Moses and Jesus but by Paul as well . . . For if he is the God of all of us alike, and the creator of all, why did he neglect us?" [25] Even more succinctly than in his tract against the Galilaeans, Julian summarized his view of the Jews in a letter to the High-priest of Asia, Theodorus: "But these Jews are in part god-fearing, seeing that they revere a god who is truly most powerful and most good and governs this world of sense, and, as I well know, is worshipped by us under other names. They act as is right and seemly, in my opinion, if they do not transgress the laws; but in this one thing they err in that, while reserving their deepest devotion for their own god, they do not conciliate the other gods also; but the other gods they think have been allotted to us Gentiles only, to such a pitch of folly have they been brought by their barbaric conceit" [26].

A man who thought of the Jewish religion in this way will certainly not have agreed with the policies of his predecessors. We shall see that his desire to break open the Jewish isolation led

[25] Fragments 3 and 4 in my collection of pagan witnesses to Christendom (*Scriptorum paganorum I–IV saeculi de Christianis testimonia*, Textus Minores II, 1948). Translation, W. C. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 423, 343f.

[26] Bidez–Cumont 89a (453D–454A). Translation, Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

to a promise which signified a break with the negative policies ("against you") of his predecessors.

Let us, however, first turn back to the form in which this document is cast. The authenticity of this letter has been defended by attributing the responsibility for the text in its surviving form to civil servants of the imperial offices from which it issued [27]. Such a supposition is, however, quite unnecessary, indeed even precarious. The style of the letter shows certain features which are perfectly characteristic of the mentality of the emperor himself. In this connection attention should be called to the title by which the writer addresses the patriarch. The serious charge brought against the so-called forger is that the emperor refers to the patriarch Hillel II as "brother". As in the case of the foregoing putative stylistic objections, I prefer not to look for an explanation in the inevitably weak argument that the text was rewritten. Quite to the contrary, I would call this use of the term brother for the patriarch one of the specifically Julian features of this text. By it he emphasized that as head of his pagan church, as patriarch of his own pantheon, he greets all heads of religious movements as brothers and has a place for them. An additional factor is his wish to penetrate the Jewish isolation. The *Misopogon* demonstrates how much his familiarity with lower ranks had engendered displeasure in the exclusive circles of the upper classes of Antioch. It is not difficult to imagine how shocked these Christian adherents of an *apartheids* policy with regard to the Jews must have been when the emperor called their spiritual leader his brother. And Julian went even further. In several turns of speach he uses the style of the Septuagint – the Bidez-Cumont edition gives the references to passages from the Bible – and in several sentences hiatus has not been avoided. Analysis has shown that in all of Julian's letters hiatus occurs fourty times; yet in this short letter it is found eight times. The conclusion was considered to be obvious: this is where the forger has given himself away. But if we consider that, as a rule, hiatus has not been avoided in the style of the Septuagint, this argument becomes worthless. Indeed, the most recent critical scholar, Vogt, himself says: "[*der Brief*] *erinnert*

[27] Wright, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. XXII: "the rescript may have been rewritten".

mehr an die Sprache des Alten Testaments als an klassische Vorbilder" [28]. Just as, for the sake of his mission, Paul was a Jew to the Jews and a Greek to the Greeks, so did Julian do for his "pagan church". It would therefore be just as well to ignore the question of whether the imperial secretaries would have been equipped to imitate the style of the Septuagint: it is of no importance, because the emperor's own writings clearly show (*Contra Galilaeos* is the best example) that he knew these Jewish texts and had command of their style.

This adaptability links him to Paul, in whom he detested it, and whom he accused of changing his views as the polypus changes its colour to match the rocks [29]. He may have had few illusions about what sort of success he would have with the Jews (even Paul despaired at times) but the measures which he discussed or announced in the letter show him to have been in earnest. It is exactly these measures which have primarily determined the arguments against the authenticity of the letter. We must therefore examine them one by one.

The opening paragraph contains an outburst directed against the bureaucrats of the emperor's predecessors and an allusion to the trials held at Chalcedon which saw the liquidation of these figures, who were indeed exceedingly dangerous to Julian [30]. Julian's conduct just after his accession had in this respect been extremely well controlled and tactful. When Constantius died at the very moment that civil war between him and Julian threatened, it became clear that the dynastic solidarity was stronger than their actual differences, for Constantius had treated Julian as his heir, which was actually the best thing he could do if he wished to

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[28] *Op. cit.*, p. 66. Here Vogt, correctly in my opinion, diverges from Bidez–Cumont in the introduction to their edition of this letter (p. 280). Although Julian's literary models do not generally derive from Christian and Jewish sources, he used, as in the letter discussed here and in *Contra Galilaeos*, terms borrowed from these works, as demonstrated by G. J. M. Bartelink, *L'empereur Julien et le vocabulaire chrétien*, Vig. Chr. XI, 1957, 37–48.

[29] In the fr. 4 cited from *Contra Galilaeos*.

[30] Ammianus Marcellinus discusses their trials extensively: XXII, 3; the best modern treatment is found in W. Ensslin, Klio XVIII, 1923, 112–118.

avoid endangering the unity of the empire. The new emperor then chose a tribunal of six prominent men whom he trusted, to try the court clique of the previous regime, schemers who had on their consciences, among other things, the murder of his half-brother Caesar Gallus. Ten persons appeared before this special court. As so often occurs with uncommon judicial procedures, mistakes were made which Ammianus Marcellinus makes the most of. And not all the judges were of equal integrity or equal to their delicate task. What it actually came to, however, was that three arch-villains, the high police officials Paulus and Apodemius and the Lord High Chamberlain Eusebius were disposed of, which noticeably improved the atmosphere of the imperial court. The first two were burned alive, and Eusebius was also put to death. It is self-evident, however, that not *all* the court dignitaries of Constantius were put to death; only the chief offenders were given the heaviest punishment. Vogt therefore gives a totally misleading impression when he says that the tribunal in Chalcedon "*das Hofgesinde nicht vernichtet, sondern einfach entlassen hat*" [31], because those who bore the main responsibility for the terror under Constantius *were* indeed killed. But Vogt is impelled to give this misrepresentation of the situation in order to support his argument that the letter to the Jews is in conflict with the factual version given by Ammianus and *thus* to remove it as a forgery from the body of Julian's letters. The conflict simply does not exist; indeed, it is remarkable that Ammianus makes use of metaphoric language which, although drawn from a pagan background and certainly uninfluenced by Old Testament texts, is nevertheless strongly reminiscent of the image used by Julian. "[I] thrust them into the pit", says the emperor; and Ammianus concludes his report of the trial in Chalcedon with the chief offender Eusebius: "Adrasteia, who judges the acts of men, hurled him straight down as from a high rock". In both cases fourth century rhetoric is speaking. Indeed, on this point there is little difference between pagans and Christians, between Libanius and Gregory Nazianzen, between Ammianus and the emperor consciously writing this letter in Old Testament style. That Julian could be fierce in his con-

[31] *Op. cit.*, p. 66.

demnation of adversaries, even when they had long since been rendered harmless, is shown by his eulogies of his predecessor (Or. I and III), especially where he attacks the Frank Silvanus, who for about a month in 355 had been anti-emperor in Cologne [32]. There too, he opened all the registers of rhetoric. Thus this passage in the letter is entirely in agreement with what seems to us the rather forced manner of writing used by the emperor and his contemporaries. The fact that sentence was pronounced by a court in Chalcedon and not by the emperor himself is also put forward as an argument against this letter. Wrongly, in my opinion. The first-rate historian Ammianus did not allow himself to be taken in by this façade of judges, and his criticism of some of the verdicts merges into criticism of the ultimate judge, the emperor, however much he admired him (XXII, 3, 9). The letter is therefore entirely in agreement with what this impartial historian has transmitted to us. This is an important argument in favour of its authenticity.

But the critics have not yet exhausted their supply of arguments. There remains still another, ostensibly conclusive, reason why the letter cannot be authentic. To the best of my knowledge, those who have had the courage to defend this letter as genuine have not yet answered this argument, and have in fact admitted that it presents a problem to which they have not been able to find a solution. It need hardly be said that this confirmed their adversaries' triumph. The *apostolè*, the assessment received from the Diaspora by the heads of the Jewish community, was a guarantee of the existence of their religious and scholarly centre. How then could Julian insist on a measure which would result in the disappearance of the only central point which all Jews had in common?

In answer to this question it may be pointed out that here the emperor makes the Jews a promise which approximates the Balfour Declaration. "I shall rebuild Jerusalem" is a complement to the rebuilding of the temple, the plans for which may have already been made. There is only one fragment preserved which reads: "For I am rebuilding with all zeal the temple of the Most High God". What happened to the rebuilding and why it was given

[32] See the South African journal *Acta Classica* III, 1960, 105–109, in which I treated the episode of Silvanus in an article entitled: *The Emperor Silvanus and his Army.*

up need not concern us at the moment [33]. The rebuilding of the temple was part of a larger plan: to rebuild Jerusalem as a city, so that it would no longer be "trampled by pagans". On an even greater scale than in the building of the temple, the rebuilding of the city will give the lie to the traditional Christian concept of divine Providence which no longer granted to the Jews a dwelling-place in their holy city. What will be the result of the building of this "new Jerusalem"? The emperor himself states it: it will satisfy the desire of the Jews to see the city inhabited. And it can be inhabited only if the Jews settle there. It seems to me that one of the emperor's strongest motives is disclosed in this letter. He unquestionably considered the importance of the temple as the centre of public worship, but he wished to achieve more. He hoped that the Jews of the Diaspora would return to Jerusalem. That would require time. Perhaps it would also require more space than just the area of the city. The emperor makes no reference to such matters. But his argument for the abolishing of the *apostolè* is explained by his "Zionism" *avant la lettre*. And as a matter of fact, for if a considerable part of the Jews from all over the world had returned to their ancient capital, an assessment from their kinsmen outside Palestine would no longer be necessary. Their own community, concentrated on their own religious centre, would be able to support itself. Regarded politically, the advantages to the Empire were evident: even if not all the Jews returned, it was to be expected that various Diaspora centres would wither, and with them many potential foci of rebellion. Again, the Jews of Babylonia and Persia, who were then the allies of the Sassanids, would be so affected by this magnanimous gesture on the part of the emperor that they would give their assistance to him and his expeditionary armies, a support which in view of their strong economic position could be considerable. Perhaps they, like their ancestors of old after the Babylonian exile, could be enticed into returning. It would be futile to attempt to determine which factor weighed most heavily for the emperor: his wish to restore the temple sacrifices in Jeru-

[33] Amm. Marc. XXIII, I, gives a report of this. An analysis of this passage and parallel data from Christian sources can be found in Vogt, *op. cit.*, p. 46 ff. The fragment of Julian's letter in Lydus, *de Mensibus* 4, 53.

salem or political considerations. He may have intended, as I see it, to correspond with his "brother Julus" on the subject later on, after the military campaign. But the course of events prevented an exchange of letters which would have clarified these religious and political aspects.

One objection to this line of reasoning which might be advanced is, that in the letter Julian establishes no connection between the abolition of the *apostolè* and the resettlement of Jerusalem. This observation would be justified, but would not constitute evidence against such a connection. The community, the "*koinon*", was then and is now, throughout the world, composed of individuals interested in the reduction of taxes. If my reasoning is correct, Julian wrote this letter several months before the beginning of the Persian campaign. At that time the emphasis is put on the freeing of the Jewish community from the extra weight of levies put upon it by his predecessors. In this way he hoped (mistakenly as it later appeared during the expedition) to lure the Jews living in Persian territory. The *counsel* (not: the command) he gives the patriarch fits in such a context: here, too, there is no question of an extra burden. And it is in just this connection that the emperor refers to the freedom from care which would make it possible to wholeheartedly worship God and pray for the emperor. Where does Julian place this worship and this prayer? In view of the concluding lines of the letter it is most probably Jerusalem which he sees as the place where the Jews, "in all respects free from care", revere God and the emperor.

A second objection to this elaboration of the emperor's objectives might be based on the improbability that *all* the Jews would be able to return to "the old country". It was on very sound grounds that the late Mrs. L. J. Tels–Elias – in the wider connection of Jewish history – devoted a valuable paper to this letter, pointing out the technical impossibility of the emigration in the fourth century of several million people to Palestine [34]. The reply must be that the letter does not speak of the return of all the Jews. In the emperor's political thinking, however, the creation of a

[34] It is with sorrow that I refer here to the work of this enthusiastic student of history who was preparing a study of Jewry in the second century A.D. towards her doctor's degree when she died in March 1960.

national centre signifies the *possibility* of return. The abolition of the *apostolè* need not mean, in terms of his policies, that as a result of this measure *all* Jews in the future would cease to pay annual synagogue levies as a contribution to the maintenance of the religious centre in Jerusalem. For him it is important that Jerusalem became a place for the worship of the Deity which would in no way differ from the pagan religious centres. Those who came would, as in other places, bring their contributions. The temple would be supported by these gifts and around it would prevail the prosperity of those who might once again live in peace, each under his own fig tree. In all probability the patriarch would not have agreed to this policy. The *apostolè* was in existence already before the destruction of Jerusalem in the year 70. It was before 70 that the situation existed which Julian, if everything went well, could restore: a centre of about ten per cent of the total Jewish population of the Imperium Romanum [35]. It was certainly not to be expected of the patriarch that he would wish to lose the spiritual or financial support from his great Diaspora flock. But did Julian understand this? His attempts to include Jewry in his syncretism show that he did not really grasp the essence of the Jewish "national" religion. His attempt to obtain the abolition of the *apostolè* was an equally futile but equally unmistakable part of his melting-pot policies. But he was also no new-comer to politics. What tends to be forgotten is that the letter is directed, over the head of the patriarch, to the community of the Jews. And deliberately so. Abolition of taxes is always favourably received in any community, even if it later proves impossible. And Julian's object was to create a favourable atmosphere among the Jews on both sides of the Persian border. This does not mean that he deliberately made (or expected from the patriarch) misleading promises which could not later be redeemed. The idealist in Julian wished, as it so often did, to believe in the possibility of what he so fiercely desired.

One may smile at the optimism of an emperor who could combine "God and Emperor" in speaking to the Jewish community. But then let us not forget that the Christian emperors had preceded

[35] For the number of inhabitants see M. Simon, *Verus Israel*, Paris 1948, p. 53.

him in settling an example of a close tie between "God and Emperor". It cannot be held against him – who knew from his studies how much the Jews had in common with the Christians and that the sacred books of the Jews were accepted by the Christians – that he entertained expectations that even the Jews could be turned into loyal subjects. If this was to take place, however, then the Jews must not carry a heavier burden than any pagan or Christian community within the Roman empire. The thrifty head of state lightened the tax load here not because he had suddenly become open-handed but because he thought that the external differences between the various groups in the population must disappear; and he could at the same time make economic and political propaganda on the eve of the campaign which was launched in March 363.

The conclusion to be drawn from all of this is obvious. The letter to the community of the Jews is a precious document of the political thinking and religious ideals which preoccupied the last of the pagan emperors. Those who reject the letter explain the forgery on the basis of a situation which existed about thirty years later, when a Jewish forger might have argued for a reduction of taxes because Julian was supposed to have permitted them earlier. We have seen that in this letter tax reductions were not an end in themselves but rather a means to reaching a more important end. And lastly, the assumption that under the Christian empire of around 400 an appeal referring to Julian would have availed, is hightly improbable, and this is in itself sufficient reason to reject the later date.

For many centuries no more compromising appeal could have been possible than one involving the emperor, who was then seen in the blackest light. The mills of historical values may grind slowly, but they nonetheless grind fine. Now that Julian's ideals have been reduced to powder and absorbed into the course of history, his policies seem, in relation to a problem which has never lost its reality in the Near East, not only daring but the only effective ones possible. It is difficult to imagine just how much human suffering might have been avoided if his programme had been carried out, even if only for a short time.

Leiden, De Laat de Kanterstr. 15 B

THE DATE OF THE DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS

BY

L. J. VAN DER LOF

In their edition of St Augustine's *De catechizandis rudibus* J. Farges and G. Combès express the opinion that this treatise was composed in the year 405.[1] Their argument is as follows: "In the *Retractationes* St Augustine mentions this treatise between the *Annotationes in Iob* and the *De Trinitate*. From this the Maurini, followed by Stilting, Schaenemann, Loofs and Rotmanner, inferred that it was written around the year 400, but Dom De Bruyne [2] is certainly right in pointing out that the *De cat. rud.* was placed by St Augustine a little after the *De Actis contra Felicem Manichaeum* and that the latter work dates from 404, so that the former was probably composed in 405. A second reason mentioned by De Bruyne is that, if the *De cat. rud.* had been written in 400, St Augustine would have composed seven or eight works in that year, including some very big ones, whereas he would have produced little between 400 and 410. This observation, too, is correct—even an author as active as St Augustine could hardly have written seven or eight works within twelve months, let alone nine, among which the *Confessiones*, consisting of 13 books, the *Contra Faustum* (33 books!), the *Contra Epistulam Parmeniani* (3 books), and the *De baptismo contra Donatistas* (7 books)." Besides quoting De Bruyne, Farges and Combès refer to M. Wundt, who defended the same view in a paper.[3]

Let us now examine the question whether it is really necessary to abandon the usual date of 399/400. First of all it may be useful to list the opinions of several specialists:

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[1] Oeuvres de Saint Augustin, vol. XI: *Le magistère chrétien* (Paris 1949), p. 10.

[2] *L'Itala de Saint Augustin*, Rev. bénédictine 30 (1913), pp. 285/314, esp. pp. 302/3.

[3] *Augustins Konfessionen*, Zeitschr. f. d. neutest. Wiss. 22 (1923), p. 185 (not 135, as Farges and Combès say, *op. cit.*, p. 16).

H. I. Marrou: 399 *Ann. in Iob* – 399 *De cat. rud.* – 399–419 *De Trin.*[4]

M. F. Sciacca: 399 *Ann. in Iob* – 399 *De cat. rud.* – 399–419 *De Trin.*[5]

E. Hendrikx: 399 *Ann. in Iob* – 399 *De cat. rud.* – summer 399–mid 419 *De Trin.*[6]

F. Cayré and F. van Steenbergen: 397–400 *Ann. in Iob* – 400 *De cat. rud.* – 400–416 *De Trin.*[7]

A. Sizoo: 400 *Ann. in Iob* – 400 *De cat. rud.* – 400–416 *De Trin.*[8]

As we see, most of these scholars put the *De cat. rud.* in 399; those who attribute it to 400, do so, because they date the *De Trinitate* differently. That this work was completed by the middle of 419 is evident from St Augustine's letter to Aurelius (*Epist.* 174) which he regarded as a prologue to the *De Trin.* and which dates from that time. The last three or four books of the *De Trin.* were written in the last two months of 418 and the first months of 419. St Augustine himself says that he finished this work at the instigation of many brethren, and especially at the command of Aurelius, the bishop of Carthage (*Epist.* 174; *Retract.* II 15, 1). He tells this when speaking about his stay at Carthage in the summer of 418, where he met many bishops who stimulated him to complete his work after his return to Hippo.[9]

The beginning of the composition of the *De Trin.* may be dated in connection with the date of the *De Actis contra Felicem Manichaeum.* The *Retractationes* tell us that between the *De Actis* (mentioned in II 8) and the *De Trin.* (discussed in II 15) Augustine only wrote six small books, two of which were, moreover, completed

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[4] *Saint Augustin et l'augustinisme* (Paris s.d.), p. 183, 186.

[5] Cf. for these data the index of St Augustine's writings in Joseph Barbel, *Aurelius Augustinus, Enchiridion* (Düsseldorf 1960), pp. 244/251.

[6] *Le date de composition du De Trinitate de saint Augustin,* L'Année théol. august. 12 (1952), pp. 305/16.

[7] Bibliothèque augustinienne, vol. I: *Introduction générale aux œuvres complètes* (Paris 1949), pp. 107/115.

[8] *Augustinus. Leven en werken* (Kampen 1957), p. 346.

[9] Hendrikx, *op. cit.*, p. 308.

from earlier notes. Since these six fairly small treatises cannot have taken much time, the beginning of the composition of the *De Trin.* cannot have been much later than the redaction of the *De Actis.* But on the datation of these *Acta* the dating of the *De cat. rud.* also depends, because it is one of the six works composed between the *De Actis* and the *De Trin.* Therewith the point at issue becomes: in which year did the discussion between St Augustine and Felix the Manichaean take place? [10]

Farges and Combès suppose that the *De Actis* was composed in 404, and the same opinion is held by Cayré and Van Steenbergen [11] and by Sizoo.[12] However, the last mentioned authors do not find in this a reason for putting the *De cat. rud.* in 405 – in fact they date it to 400.[13] It seems possible that this opinion was shared by De Bruyne: in the paper quoted above (cf. note 2) he does not speak about the *De cat. rud.* (so Farges and Combès wrongly refer to him), but he dates the *Annotationes in Iob* about 401 and the *De Actis* to 404; in this train of thought he may just as well – indeed this argumentation is quite usual – have dated the *De cat. rud.* to 401 as to 405.

Another question is whether the *De Actis* was written in 404. As it seems to me, we have every reason to think rather of 398 as the year of its composition. Here I adhere to the opinion of Paul Monceaux [14], who argues as follows: the disposition of the *Retractationes* is based on the historic order of St Augustine's writings, as the author explicitly states himself (*Prolog.* 3). In spite of this and of the fact that the text of this work has come down to us in a particularly good condition, we must assume that there is a mistake in the chronology for the following reason: in the *Retractationes* the *Confessiones* are mentioned as the sixth book written after St Augustine's consecration as a bishop; they stand

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[10] We know that the first disputation took place *septimo idus Decembris* (*op. cit.* I 1), the second *pridie iduum Decembrium* (*ibid.* II 1).

[11] *Op. cit.*, pp. 107/115.

[12] *Op. cit.*, p. 346, and *Geschiedenis der oud-Christelijke Latijnse letterkunde* (Haarlem 1951), p. 153.

[13] Cayré and Van Steenbergen, *loc. cit.*; Sizoo, *Augustinus, etc.*, p. 346.

[14] Acad. des Inscr., Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1908 (Paris 1908), pp. 52/3.

two places before the *De Actis*, commonly attributed to the year 404, but eleven places before the *Contra Epistulam Parmeniani* and nineteen places before the *Contra litteras Petiliani*, the second book of which cannot be dated later than 401. From these facts it follows that the *De Actis* must be earlier than 404, and therefore the text of the first sentence of this treatise as it is given by the manuscripts, *viz.*, *Honorio Augusto sextum consule, septimo idus Decembris* (i.e., Dec. 7, A.D. 404) cannot be correct. It is for this reason that Monceaux proposes to read *quartum* instead of *sextum*; he supposes an original IIII to have been changed, first into III, and afterwards into VI. In this context it is important to note that several manuscripts of the *Retractationes* omit the number of the consulate altogether and that one of them gives the third consulate of Honorius, i.e., 396. If the *De Actis* was indeed composed during the Emperor's fourth consulate, i.e., in 398, it would belong – and this is a very strong argument in favour of Monceaux's hypothesis – to the period of St Augustine's controversy with the Manichaeans.

So, if Monceaux's conjecture is correct – and we are strongly inclined to follow Hendrikx and Zarb in accepting it –, the main argument of Farges and Combès for dating the *De cat. rud.* to 405 has been refuted.

We come now to a discussion of the second argument, *viz.*, that, if the *De cat. rud.* was written in or about 400, one would have to assume that in that year St Augustine wrote a considerable number of treatises, whereas he produced very little between 400 and 410. In this connection it should be observed first of all that the editors quote De Bruyne incorrectly, when they say that he was speaking about the period between 400 and 410 – De Bruyne speaks about 405–410.[15]

Now it should be noted that for the latter period a decline of St Augustine's productivity may well be explained by the fact that these very years saw the culminating-point of his struggle against Donatism and the beginning of his fight against Pelagianism. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that the end of this period witnessed the sack of Rome which caused general despair – we

[15] *Op. cit.*, p. 303.

need only refer to the famous utterance of St Jerome in the Preface to the first book of his commentary on Ezekiel (P.L. XXV, 15) and to the fact that it was the blame commonly put on the Christians which gave rise to the *De Civitate Dei*.

In the second place it is by no means necessary to assume that in 400 St Augustine wrote no less than nine works, among them such lengthy ones as the *Confessiones* and the *Contra Faustum*. In this context we may refer to the dating of a number of the relevant treatises by other scholars:

Marrou: *Confess.* 397; *c. Faust.* 397–398; *c. epist. Parm.* 400; *De bapt.* 401.

Sciacca: as Marrou, only *Confess.* 397–400.

Hendrikx: *Confess.* beginning of 397–398.

Monceaux[16]: *Confess.* by the end of 397 or in the beginning of 398.

From this it is clear that the year 400 would certainly not become "too full", and therewith the second argument put forward by Combès and Farges stands refuted.

Some attention should also be given to the assertion (cf. p. 1 and n. 3) that Wundt in his paper *Augustins Konfessionen* took the side of De Bruyne and placed the *De cat. rud.* in 405. When we look up this paper, we find that, for the foundation of this opinion, Wundt refers to an earlier article[17] in which he simply sticks to the usual date of 404 for the *De Actis* and entirely ignores the possibility of a composition of this treatise in 398 – he only expresses his regret that the date cannot be 396, the third consulate of Honorius, as is found in one manuscript of the *Retractationes*, because in that case one could at least maintain the order given in that work. The paper by Monceaux was clearly unknown to him. As observed already, we agree with Monceaux, and so we date the *De Actis* to 398 and consequently the *De cat. rud.* to 399. Therewith the latter work must be placed in the period of St Augustine's conflict with the Manichaeans. Wundt[18] acknowledges that the *Confessiones* are connected with that conflict, and in my

[16] *Op. cit.*, p. 53.

[17] *Zur Chronologie augustinischer Schriften*, Zeitschr. f. d. neutest. Wiss. 21 (1922), pp. 128/35.

[18] *Op. cit.*, p. 134.

opinion the same holds good for the *De cat. rud.* for the following reasons.

It is reasonable to assume that the dictum *in veteri testamento est occultatio novi, in novo testamento est manifestatio veteris* (*De cat. rud.* IV 8) is also directed against the Manichaeans. When he wrote this sentence, St Augustine had just finished his work *Contra Faustum* in which he had refuted their continuous ridiculizing of the contradictions between the Old and the New Testament.

Further, the adherents of Mani used to point out the "anthropomorphism" of Exodus, the decalogue and the resurrection of the body, the semi-pagan attitude of many Christians, etc. Now we find several passages in the *De cat. rud.* in which St Augustine evidently rather addresses the Manichaeans than the *rudes*.[19] We give an enumeration of the most striking points:

It is plausible that St Augustine was thinking of the theory of the Manichaeans that the principle of evil can injure the principle of what is right, when he wrote: *itaque nec diabolus aliquid deo nocuit, quia vel ipse lapsus est vel hominem seduxit ad mortem.*[20]

When he argues that the finger of God is the Spirit of God, he uses an allegory, and the allegorical method was a mighty weapon against the Manichaeans. They took the Old Testament entirely literally and it was on this account that they raised many objections to it.[21]

The words *neque enim deus forma corporis definitus est* are clearly aimed at the Manichaeans, who considered the Christian conception of God too anthropomorphic.[22]

About the ten commandments St Augustine says that they are *in tabulis sane lapideis*.[23] He admits that the Law was given to Moses on tables of stone, but not to indicate a confinement under the Law. The point was to show the stubbornness of the Jewish people. Faustus with his Manichaean contradistinction between the Old and the New Testament contrasted 2 Cor. 3, 2 and Ex.

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[19] Cf. J. P. Christopher in his edition of the treatise (Washington 1926), p. 157.

[20] *De cat. rud.* XVIII 30, cf. Christopher, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

[21] *De cat. rud.* XX 35, cf. Christopher, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

[22] *De cat. rud.* XX 35, cf. Christopher, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

[23] *De cat. rud.* XX 35.

31, 18: on the one hand: *epistula . . . scripta non atramento, sed spiritu dei vivi*; *non in tabulis lapideis, sed in tabulis cordis carnalibus*, on the other hand: *deditque dominus . . . duas tabulas testimonii lapideas, scriptas digito dei.* Over against this St Augustine quotes Ezek. 11, 19: *auferam eis cor lapideum et dabo eis cor magnum.*[24]

Lastly St Augustine allegorizes about the sixth day of the Creation and the sixth period of the world. He does so both in *De cat. rud.* and in *De Gen. c. Manichaeos.*[25]

All these anti-Manichaean traces confirm our opinion that the *De catechizandis rudibus* was composed about 399 and that Combès and Farges are wrong in attributing it to the year 405.

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[24] *c. Faust.* XV 4, cf. Christopher, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

[25] *De cat. rud.* XVII 28; XXII 39; *De Gen. c. Man.* I 35; cf. Christopher, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

ST. AMBROSE'S INTERPRETATION OF THE CONCEPT OF MATTER

BY

J. C. M. VAN WINDEN O.F.M.

During the last decennia the works of St. Ambrose have been enjoying a growing interest. One of the fruits of this interest is the translation of the *Exameron*, the *De Paradiso* and the *De Cain et Abel* by J. J. Savage in the series "The Fathers of the Church" (New York, 1961). Unfortunately this translation has failed to stand the test, as was shown in a review elsewhere in this periodical (pp. 246–248). In the present paper it is my intention to discuss the most important texts of St. Ambrose which refer to matter; this discussion will give an opportunity for some further incidental remarks concerning Savage's translation.

The first sentence of the *Exameron* already gives abundant food for reflection. St. Ambrose immediately plunges *in medias res* and begins his sermon as follows: *Tantumne opinionis adsumpsisse homines, ut aliqui eorum tria principia constituerent omnium, deum et exemplar et materiam, sicut Plato discipulique eius, et ea incorrupta et increata ac sine initio esse adseverarent deumque non tamquam creatorem materiae, sed tamquam artificem ad exemplar, hoc est ideam intendentem fecisse mundum de materia, quam vocant ὕλην, quae gignendi causas rebus omnibus dedisse adseratur* . . . (p. 3, 2–9 Sch.). Though our attention is mainly turned to what St. Ambrose says on matter, some observations on the translation of the entire sentence may precede. Savage translates: "To such an extent have men's opinions varied that some, like Plato and his pupils, have established three principles for all things: that is, God, Idea, and Matter. The same philosophers hold that these principles are uncreated, incorruptible, and without a beginning. They maintain that God, acting not as a creator of matter but as a craftsman who reproduced a model, that is, an Idea, made the world out of matter. This matter, which they call ὕλη, is considered to have given the power of creation to all things." (p. 3). There is an

inconsistency in this translation, in so far as *exemplar* is first rendered by "Idea", and a little further on *ad exemplar, hoc est ideam* by "*a* model, that is, *an* Idea". It would have been better to render the first *exemplar* by "model" as well; at any rate, the use of the indefinite article in the second case cannot be defended, for St. Ambrose speaks about one single Idea, just as he speaks about one God and one Matter. The translation of *intendentem* is not correct either, for the words "who reproduced" fail to bring out the connection of this particle with *deum*. It would be better to maintain the participle construction and translate as follows: "that God, acting not as a creator of matter but as a craftsman, contemplating the model, that is, the Idea, made the world out of matter".

Matter, St. Ambrose states, is said to have furnished the *causas gignendi* to all things. Savage translates these two words by "the power of creation". It is generally known that matter is regarded by Aristotle as a cause, but only in so far as the ὕλη offers the material out of which things come to existence [1]; it is a passive, not an active cause. Therefore, if the ὕλη is called αἰτία γενέσεως, this does not imply that it possesses "the power of creation" [2]; therefore, we must certainly prefer the literal translation "causes of becoming". St. Ambrose, however, understands matter as an active principle, not in the sense of the well-known dualistic interpretation, in which matter is the principle of evil and as such opposed to the good, but rather as a power which makes the divine principle at least partly superfluous. This will become evident from the following remarkable texts.

In *Exam.* I 2, 5 St. Ambrose continues his sermon as follows: *Unde divino spiritu praevidens sanctus Moyses hos hominum errores fore et iam forte coepisse in exordio sermonis sui sic ait*: "*in principio fecit deus caelum et terram*", *initium rerum, auctorem mundi, crea-*

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[1] See *Phys.* II 3, 194b 23: αἴτιον λέγεται τὸ ἐξ οὗ γίνεταί τι ἐνυπάρχοντος.

[2] It is a well-known fact that Plato does not actually use the term ὕλη. However, an identification of the χώρα and the ἀνάγκη of the *Timaeus* with the ὕλη of Aristotle has been generally accepted since the age of the latter. On this subject cp. F. Solmsen, *Aristotle's Word for 'Matter'*, in: Didascaliae. Studies in Honor of Anselm M. Albareda, 395–408; J. C. M. van Winden, *Calcidius on Matter. His Doctrine and Sources*, Leiden, Brill, 1959, pp. 31 *ss.*

tionem materiae conprehendens, ut deum cognosceres ante initium mundi esse vel ipsum esse initium universorum, sicut in evangelio dei filius dicentibus: "tu quis es?" respondit: "initium quod et loquor vobis", et ipsum dedisse gignendi rebus initium et ipsum esse creatorem mundi, non idea quadam duce imitatorem materiae, ex qua non ad arbitrium suum, sed ad speciem propositam sua opera conformaret (p. 4, 17–5, 3 Sch.). In this quotation the words *et ipsum dedisse gignendi rebus omnibus initium* attract our attention and remind us of what was said just now about matter: *quae gignendi causas rebus omnibus dedisse adseratur*. That which, according to *Genesis*, is the work of God, is the work of matter in the opinion of Plato, as it is explained by St. Ambrose. But then God does what has already been done by matter, and so He imitates matter: hence *imitatorem materiae*. Moreover, in creating the world, God could not work according to His will, but He had to conform it to an example proposed to Him (not "a self-proposed model", as Savage translates). It is remarkable that in *imitatorem materiae* the verb *imitari* does not have the Idea as its object. This interpretation of Ambrose's words is confirmed by a similar text in the same sermon, where he says that Moses did not want to make God "a pupil of matter", who by contemplating it would fashion the world. Still referring to the first words of *Genesis* he states: *non ille (sc. Moyses), ut atomorum concursione mundus coiret, serum atque otiosum expectavit negotium neque discipulum quendam materiae, quam contemplando mundum posset effingere, sed auctorem deum exprimendum putavit* (p. 6, 12–16 Sch.). In the translation of this passage Savage makes *neque . . . effingere* dependent on *expectavit*, just like J. E. Niederhuber in his German translation in the "Bibliothek der Kirchenväter" (Kempten und München, 1914). However, the second principal sentence begins after *negotium*; its meaning is: "Moses thought that he had to describe, not a *discipulus materiae*, but a *deus auctor*". The interpunction in Migne, where a comma is put after *negotium* is, therefore, preferable to that of Schenkl.

In the introduction of his sermon on the second day of creation St. Ambrose sums up the main points of his statements concerning the first day. We read there: *fecit igitur deus caelum et terram et ea quasi auctor esse praecepit, non tamquam figurae inventor, sed*

tamquam operator naturae, nam quomodo sibi conveniunt operatoria inpassibilis dei virtus et passibilis materiae natura tamquam altera ab altera quo indiguerint mutuantes? (p. 41, 16–20 Sch.). In the light of the preceding texts St. Ambrose's meaning is clear: he declares that it is not correct to understand God and matter as two active causes, one filling up the shortcomings of the other. Though grammatically *operatoria* belongs to *dei virtus* only, it could be added to matter as well. — Savage makes a curious mistake, rendering *et ea . . . praecepit* by "and those things which He as Author has ordained to exist", as if St. Ambrose had written *quae* or *ea quae*. *Ea*, of course, resumes *caelum et terram* and the text means: "and as a Creator He ordained these things to exist". — After this Ambrose elaborates the consequences of the supposition that matter was uncreated; this text can be considered as a further explanation of the words *non tamquam figurae inventor* in the preceding sentence: *nam si increata materia, videtur ergo deo creandae potestas materiae defuisse et ab ea operationi subiacentia mutuatus: si vero inconposita, mirum admodum (est) coaeternam deo materiem decorem sibi non potuisse conferre, quae substantiam non a creatore acceperit, sed sine tempore ipsa possederit. plus ergo invenit operator omnium quam contulit: invenit materiem, in qua posset operari, contulit autem figuram, quae decorem inventis rebus adferret* (p. 41, 20–42, 5 Sch.). In other words: in that case matter would have already done the main part of the work, and God would be a *inventor* rather than a *creator*. And why should matter have been unable to finish this work all by itself?

God, then, is the Creator of matter. But why in fact do we speak about matter on occasion of *Genesis* I 1? We only read that God made heaven and earth. However, the Jewish and Christian thinkers, who, like Philo and Origen, studied Greek philosophy as well as the Bible, were, of course, looking for points of contact between these two sources of knowledge. They found a curious correspondence between the attributes of earth in *Gen.* I 1, which was said to be *invisibilis et incompta*, and of matter, which is always said to be *ἀνείδεος, ἄμορφος, ἄποιος* [3]. St. Ambrose discusses

[3] For the relevant texts see the references in index III of my *Calcidius on Matter*: list of Greek terms.

this text of *Genesis* in his second sermon on the first creation day (*Exam.* I 7, 25). He accepts as self-evident the identification of earth and matter, and begins his comments with a discussion on *erat*. He asks: *Quid est "erat"?* And he answers: *ne forte in infinitum et sine principio extendant opinionem suam et dicant ecce quia materia, id est ὕλη, sicut philosophi dicunt, etiam secundum scripturam divinam non habuit initium. verum hoc dicentibus respondebis quia scriptum est: "erat autem Cain operarius terrae" . . . Desinant ergo de verbo quaestionem movere, cum praesertim praemiserit Moyses quia "fecit deus terram". erat ergo ex quo facta est* (p. 23, 10–19 Sch.). In this passage the words *ne forte* cause a difficulty. One is inclined to translate, as Savage does: "Perhaps (Holy Scripture has *erat*, in order) that men may not extend their hypothesis to refer to something without end and without beginning and say: See how matter . . . did not have a beginning according even to the divine Scriptures" (p. 26). However, this interpretation cannot possibly be correct, for the imperfect tense in *erat*, far from containing a warning against the supposition that matter always was, rather favours it. The meaning of the text must be a different one. St. Ambrose asks: "What does 'was' mean?". And then, thinking of those who consider matter to be uncreated, he warns: "Let them refrain from sticking eternally [4] to their opinion and from saying (which perhaps they will do): 'see how, even according to Holy Scripture, matter did not have a beginning'". He then quotes some texts of the Bible in which *erat* does not mean 'to be without a beginning' either, and concludes: "Let them cease, therefore, to cling to the sense of a verb, especially since Moses has already asserted that God made the earth. It 'was', therefore, from the moment (not 'from the fact', as Savage translates) that it was made". – "And, moreover", St. Ambrose continues, "where could matter have been, if it was eternal?" He then discusses several possibilities, all of which turn out to be impossible. Finally, he says: *ubi ergo erat ὕλη, nisi forte dicatur quadam dementi intentione quia in deo erat? ergo deus invisibilis naturae atque inviolabilis, qui "lucem habitat inaccessibilem", inconprehensibilis et purissimus*

[4] This interpretation of *in infinitum et sine principio* seems preferable to that of Savage.

spiritus, locus erat materiae mundialis, et erat in deo mundi portio, cum de hoc mundo non sit mens servolorum eius, sicut habemus scriptum: "*de hoc mundo non sunt, sicut et ego non sum de mundo*" (p. 24, 12–19 Sch.). Savage's translation of this passage contains several mistakes. In the first sentence he omits *dementi* and *in*; in consequence we are given the following meaningless rendering: "Are you to suppose by some notion that it was God?" (p. 27). In the second sentence he again overlooks *in*, which renders his translation completely incorrect: "And was God a part of this world" instead of "and was a part of this world in God". – By *portio mundi* St. Ambrose, of course, means the earth; the other *portio* is heaven. This statement raises another question: what is the meaning of heaven, if earth is interpreted as the equivalent of matter?

In Greek philosophy an equivalent of heaven can hardly be found. However, an answer to our question is given by Calcidius in his commentary on the *Timaeus*, ch. 277–278. It is almost certain that this passage is the translation of a fragment of Origen's commentary on Genesis.[5] Here the question is raised which heaven and which earth Holy Scripture means. Some understand heaven and earth literally, but this supposition cannot be correct, since this heaven and this earth were not made in the beginning but on the second day: *Quod autem caelum quamve terram Scriptura loquatur, intellegendum. Qui tumultuario contenti sunt intellectu, caelum hoc quod videmus et terram qua subvehimur dici putant. Porro qui altius indagantur, negant hoc caelum ab initio factum, sed secundo die* (p. 281, 16–19 Wsz.). In the following chapter Calcidius first discusses the opinion of Philo, who declares that the heaven and earth mentioned in *Gen.* I 1 are immaterial and intelligible essences, *viz.*, the ideas: *Quod ergo illud caelum prius quam cetera deus condidit quamve terram? Philo carentes corpore atque intellegibiles essentias fore censet, ideas et exemplaria tam siccae istius terrae quam soliditatis* (p. 282, 7–9 Wsz.). Here earth as well as heaven belong to the world of ideas: they are the ideas of this earth and of the firmament.[6] Philo sees his opinion confirmed by the fact that in

[5] See my *Calcidius on Matter*, pp. 60 *ss.*

[6] *O.c.*, p. 62. See also *De opificio mundi* 6, 29: *Πρῶτον οὖν ὁ ποιῶν ἐποίησεν οὐρανὸν ἀσώματον καὶ γῆν ἀόρατον.*

Genesis the creation of man, too, is mentioned twice. In this context this can only mean that Holy Scripture refers first to intelligible man, that is, the prototype of man, and then to the *homo corporeus*. Calcidius continues as follows: *Alii non ita, sed scientem prophetam duas esse species rerum omnium, alteram intellegibilem, alteram sensibilem, eas virtutes quae utramque naturam circumplexae contineant, caelum et terram cognominasse, caelum quidem incorpoream naturam, terram vero, quae substantia est corporum, quam Graeci hylen vocant. Astipulantur his quae sequuntur, "terra autem erat invisibilis et informis", hoc est silva corporea, vetus mundi substantia, etc.* (p. 282, 11–17 Wsz.). Then, having explained the other translations of the *Genesis* text, Calcidius states: *Quod si facta est a deo silva corporea quondam informis, quam Scriptura terram vocat, non est, opinor, desperandum incorporei quoque generis fore intellegibilem silvam, quae caeli nomine sit nuncupata* (p. 283, 8–11 Wsz.). This means that in the beginning God created an amount, not only of corporeal, but also of intelligible, incorporeal matter. Now such a theory was indeed defended by Origen. In *De princ.* II 9, 1, discussing the text of *Sap.* 11, 20 ἀλλὰ πάντα μέτρῳ καὶ ἀριθμῷ διέταξας, he writes: *porro autem sicut et scriptura dicit "numero et mensura universa" condidit deus, et idcirco 'numerus' quidem recte aptabitur rationabilibus creaturis vel mentibus, ut tantae sint, quantae a providentia dei et dispensari et regi et contineri possint. 'Mensura' vero materiae corporali consequenter aptabitur; quam utique tantam a deo creatam esse credendum est, quantam sibi sciret ad ornatum mundi posse sufficere. Haec ergo sunt quae in initio, id est ante omnia, a deo creata esse aestimandum est. Quod quidem etiam in illo initio, quod Moyses latentius introducit, indicari putamus, cum dicit: "In principio fecit deus caelum et terram"*. Remembering this opinion we are better able to understand the following text of St. Ambrose, which follows immediately after the words of I 2, 7 discussed above: *advertit enim vir plenus prudentiae quod visibilium atque invisibilium substantiam et causas rerum mens sola divina contineat, non ut philosophi disputant validiorem atomorum conplexionem perseverantiae iugis praestare causam* (p. 6, 16–20 Sch.). Since this text belongs to the interpretation of *Gen.* I 1, *invisibilium substantia* seems to be the rendering of *caelum*, just as *visibilium substantia* indicates matter. (See in the Calcidian text

quae substantia est corporum and *vetus mundi substantia.*) But then we are not far from the *incorporea natura* and the *silva intellegibilis* of Calcidius and Origen. However, this interpretation seems to clash with *Exam.* I 5, 19, where St. Ambrose says with regard to the same words of *Genesis*: *et factus est ergo mundus et coepit esse qui non erat; verbum autem dei in principio erat et erat semper. sed etiam angeli, dominationes et potestates etsi aliquando coeperunt, erant tamen iam, quando hic mundus est factus. "omnia" namque creata et "condita sunt, visibilia et invisibilia"* (p. 15, 21–26 Sch. Cp. St. Basil, *Hexaem.* 13A–B). Here *caelum et terram* clearly refers to the *visibilia*; the *invisibilia* are said to have been created before. The qualification of heaven and earth as *portiones mundi* in the sentence quoted above must also be explained in this way.

How are we to explain this difference of views? If I am not mistaken, St. Ambrose is confusing two different conceptions. Some understand heaven and earth literally, as we saw already and as we shall also see St. Basil doing; others interpret 'earth' as 'matter', and then it is obvious that they also interpret 'heaven' in a different way. Concerning earth St. Ambrose's position is clear: without hesitation he identifies it with matter; concerning heaven, however, he has, as it seems, not found any problem; thus, on the one side, we come across texts which seem to suggest a literal interpretation ('heaven' = firmament), whereas, on the other side, we also find some reminiscences of Origen's interpretation ('heaven' = *invisibilium substantia*). Since we know that St. Ambrose used Origen as a source for his sermons on *Genesis* – St. Jerome even reproached him with this, though afterwards he modified his judgment [7] – we must take into consideration the possibility that the texts we have just discussed are derived from Origen's commentary. It is, however, by no means impossible that Ambrose himself was not fully alive to the implications of bringing in these texts. – In rendering *mens sola divina contineat* by "were contained in the divine mind" Savage makes a serious mistake: the created things are not *in* the divine mind but they are contained *by* the divine mind, and by the divine mind alone, as St. Ambrose states explicitly, not by the conjunction of atoms. – About this theory

[7] See Niederhuber, *o.c.*, p. 5.

of the *conplexio atomorum* he still says: *iudicavit quod telam araneae texerent qui sic minuta et insubstantiva principia caelo ac terris darent, quae ut fortuito coniungerentur ita fortuito ac temere dissolverentur, nisi in sui gubernatoris divina virtute constarent. nec inmerito gubernatorem nesciunt qui non noverunt deum, per quem omnia reguntur et gubernantur. sequamur ergo eum qui et auctorem novit et gubernatorem nec vanis abducamur opinionibus* (p. 6, 20–7, 5 Sch.). The first words of this quotation raise the question whether St. Ambrose thought that Moses was acquainted with the theory of atoms. The (negative) answer is to be found in *Exam.* I 2, 5 quoted above: *Unde divino spiritu praevidens sanctus Moyses hos hominum errores fore et iam forte coepisse, etc.* — This text on the theory of atoms will serve us in the discussion of the sources of Ambrose to which we now proceed.

It is a well-known fact that in his homilies on the Creation Ambrose largely depends on St. Basil's *Hexaëmeron*. On the theory of atoms we read, for example, in *Hexaëm.* 8A–B: *οἱ δὲ ἄτομα καὶ ἀμερῆ σώματα, καὶ ὄγκους καὶ πόρους συνέχειν τὴν φύσιν τῶν ὁρατῶν ἐφαντάσθησαν. Νῦν μὲν γὰρ συνιόντων ἀλλήλοις τῶν ἀμερῶν σωμάτων, νῦν δὲ μετασυγκρινομένων, τὰς γενέσεις καὶ τὰς φθορὰς ἐπιγίνεσθαι· καὶ τῶν διαρκεστέρων σωμάτων τὴν ἰσχυροτέραν τῶν ἀτόμων ἀντεμπλοκὴν τῆς διαμονῆς τὴν αἰτίαν παρέχειν. Ὄντως ἱστὸν ἀράχνης ὑφαίνουσιν οἱ ταῦτα γράφοντες, οἱ οὕτω λεπτὰς καὶ ἀνυποστάτους ἀρχὰς οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ὑποτιθέμενοι. Οὐ γὰρ ᾔδεσαν εἰπεῖν, Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. Διὰ τοῦτο ἀκυβέρνητα καὶ ἀδιοίκητα εἶναι τὰ σύμπαντα, ὡς ἄν τύχῃ φερόμενα, ὑπὸ της ἐνοικούσης αὐτοῖς ἀθεότητος ἠπατήθησαν. Ὅπερ ἵνα μὴ πάθωμεν ἡμεῖς, ὁ τὴν κοσμοποιίαν συγγράφων εὐθὺς ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ῥήμασι τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν ἡμῶν κατεφώτισεν, εἰπών, Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεός* (Ed. St. Giet, Sources Chrétiennes, p. 92, 94). This passage provides us with the explanation of the rather enigmatical *validiorem* in Ambrose's text, and it shows the origin of the comparison of the cob-web and the idea of the ruler.

In general St. Ambrose follows his example, be it fairly freely. Concerning matter, however, he radically deviates from his authority. Basil will have none of the idea that the words *ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος* should contain an indication of matter.

People who say that, he states, are "falsifiers of the truth" (*Hexaëm.* 29C). According to him, the terms 'heaven' and 'earth' design 'the world'; since they are the extreme parts of the world, all things are comprised by them: *Ἐκ δύο τῶν ἄκρων τοῦ παντὸς τὴν ὕπαρξιν παρῃνίξατο . . . Πάντως δὲ καὶ εἴ τι τούτων μέσον, συναπεγενήθη τοῖς πέρασιν* (20A). "They should not" St. Basil continues, "raise questions about the essence of the earth, and look for a nature without quality and without property by itself": *μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν αὐτῆς τὴν οὐσίαν ἥτις ποτέ ἐστι, μηδὲ κατατρίβεσθαι τοῖς λογισμοῖς αὐτὸ τὸ ὑποκείμενον ἐκζητοῦντας, μηδὲ ζητεῖν τινα φύσιν ἔρημον ποιοτήτων, ἄποιον ὑπάρχουσαν τῷ ἑαυτῆς λόγῳ* (21A). These kinds of abstractions lead to the elimination of everything: *Εἰς οὐδὲν γὰρ καταλήξεις, ἑκάστην τῶν ἐνυπαρχουσῶν αὐτῇ ποιοτήτων ὑπεξαιρεῖσθαι τῷ λόγῳ πειρώμενος* (*ibid.*). Thus St. Basil understands the terms 'heaven' and 'earth' in their most obvious sense. With reference to *ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος* he notes that the same could be said of heaven, since in the beginning heaven was not illuminated by sun and moon, and not crowned with the stars (29B). He further argues that an uncreated matter cannot exist, and that God, in creating the world, has at once generated matter and form: *Ὁ δὲ Θεὸς, πρίν τι τῶν νῦν ὁρωμένων γενέσθαι, εἰς νοῦν βαλόμενος καὶ ὁρμήσας ἀγαγεῖν εἰς γένεσιν τὰ μὴ ὄντα, ὁμοῦ τε ἐνόησεν ὁποῖόν τινα χρὴ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι, καὶ τῷ εἴδει αὐτοῦ τὴν ἁρμόζουσαν ὕλην συναπεγέννησε. Καὶ οὐρανῷ μὲν ἀφώρισε τὴν οὐρανῷ πρέπουσαν φύσιν· τῷ δὲ τῆς γῆς σχήματι τὴν οἰκείαν αὐτῇ καὶ ὀφειλομένην οὐσίαν ὑπέβαλε* (33A). St. Ambrose certainly knew these texts, and so we are permitted to infer that he wittingly departed from the interpretation of his authority. Thus we arrive at the conclusion that, though St. Ambrose often follows St. Basil, he is by no means a slavish imitator without an opinion of his own.

If St. Basil did not influence him here, who did? In examining this question we have to be extremely careful. Perhaps it is impossible to assign a special author as Ambrose's only source: anyone who reads the first chapters of the first sermon, which we have partly treated above, will get the impression of a compilation of doxographical data. Probably St. Ambrose has used a doxography as his source for the questions under discussion, but his

interpretation of matter as an active cause is almost certainly a contribution of his own.

One author must be mentioned, on whom Ambrose is certainly not dependent here, *viz.*, Plotinus. Several authors, among whom Courcelle and Hadot have to be mentioned in the first place,[8] have succeeded in tracing an influence of Plotinus on St. Ambrose on several points. However, the concept of matter which St. Ambrose discusses here is not that of Plotinus. It would have been difficult, indeed, to use the Plotinian concept of matter in an interpretation of *Genesis*, since what this text requires is the Aristotelian *τὸ ἐξ οὗ*, and the *ὕλη* of Plotinus is very far from this concept.[9]

We thus arrive at the conclusion that, when St. Ambrose, consciously deviating from St. Basil's opinion, supposed *Gen.* I 1 to refer to matter, he could only use the traditional form of this concept, which he found in doxographical literature. Possibly Origen's commentary on *Genesis* rendered him some service. However, the interpretation of the activity of matter seems to be entirely his own work.

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[8] See P. Courcelle, *L'humanisme chrétien de saint Ambroise*, in: *Orpheus* 9 (1962), 21–34.

[9] The *ὕλη* of Plotinus does not contribute in any positive way to the existence of things. Cp. the excellent paper of F. P. Hager, *Die Materie und das Böse im antiken Platonismus* in *Museum Helveticum* 19 (1962), 73–103, especially pp. 85 *ss.*

THE EARLIEST CONTINENTAL IRISH LATIN

BY

CHRISTINE MOHRMANN

Speaking of Columban James Kenney says: "He has the appearance of a product of the Gaul of Sidonius Apollinaris dropped into the Gaul of Gregory of Tours" [1]; with these words, which are confirmed, as we will see, by linguistic evidence, Kenney has – perhaps unconsciously – stressed what is the great problem of the earliest Hibernian Latin on the continent: its more or less anachronistic character, which makes it so difficult to determine the place of the Latin of Columban and others in the history of late Latin. Sidonius Apollinaris lived from 432 till about 487, Gregory of Tours from 538 till 594. St Columban was born about the year 540, lived for a long time in Bangor, went to Gaul about 590 and died in Bobbio in 614. This means that he came to Gaul shortly before the death of Gregory. In Columban we have the first, and one of the most spectacular, representatives of early Irish Latin on the continent.

In this article I will make a few remarks on the earliest continental Irish Latin, and particularly on its relations with autochthonic continental Latin. At the outset I might stress the fact that philological studies on continental Hibernian Latin are almost completely lacking and that therefore I will raise more problems than I shall be able to solve. And even there, where I venture upon an answer to one of the many questions which arise, this answer must be regarded as tentative. Thus the chief purpose of these remarks is to show how much has still to be done in the field of early medieval Latin in general and in that regarding the role of the *Scoti* in the process which made Latin the medium of medieval thought and learning in particular.

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[1] James F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, Vol. I, New York 1929, p. 189.

The 'anachronistic' character of the earliest Irish Latin is partly due to the fact that in Ireland Latin was introduced as the language of the Christian Church and of the Latin civilization introduced by Christian missionaries, without being adopted as the current language of everyday life, and that this took place at a moment when on the continent Latin still was, and would be for some time, a living vernacular. Or, to put it in other words: the oldest Irish Latin is a sort of medieval Latin 'avant la lettre'. This Latin came into being together with the Irish schools: the Latin of the *Confessio* and the *Epistula* of St Patrick prepares Irish Latin, just as the mission of Patrick and his collaborators prepared the ground for the schools without creating them. Patrick's Latin is a very personal phenomenon, a curious mixture of biblical and continental colloquial elements, in vocabulary as well as in syntax. These living colloquial elements are found in the use of the pronouns, of the particles and conjunctions, of the cases, in the frequent use of parataxis, and, in general, in the structure of the sentence and in many other phenomena, and also in the vocabulary. The Latin of Patrick is clumsy, he is hampered by his bilingualism, but the structure of his language as such exhibits the characteristic traits of the living, colloquial, vulgar Latin of the fifth century. From his language it is clear that Patrick has been in contact with continental Latin and that he draws from the sources of the living language of the fifth century. His Latin is not bookish, though he is continually drawing from the Bible. His Latin contains many remnants of the language as it was spoken on the continent, particularly in a Gaul that was battered by the invasions. There the school-system was gradually collapsing and consequently colloquial language was changing rapidly. Literary language persisted in the upper circles consisting of a few rich landowners, living on their estates, and of a few bishops, often recruted from these circles. Amidst the catastrophes of those days a literary mannerism arose which had hardly any contact with life. It is not impossible that Patrick, speaking of the *dominicati rethorici* 'learned clerics', is alluding to this sort of literary mannerism, which was practised by certain Gallic bishops [2].

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[2] Christine Mohrmann, *The Latin of Saint Patrick*, Dublin 1961, p. 29 sq.

But, to return to Patrick's Latin, its colloquial elements are very different from what we know of British Latin and therefore we have in Patrick's language evidence of his contacts with the continent. In his early youth Patrick must have acquired some knowledge of Latin as it was taught in the schools of Britain, but it seems that afterwards, spending many years in Ireland, far from his native country and far from the more or less latinized civilization of fourth century Britain, he lost the contact with the latin education he had probably received in his early youth. It was only while preparing for his ordination, when he made the acquaintance of biblical Latin and at the same time got into contact with the living Latin of Gaul, that his language took the definite form we know from his writings: a very elementary colloquial Christian Latin interspersed with many biblical elements. In its structure this language is based on the living language of the fifth century and it is free from the standardization of early medieval Latin.

We do not know what the Latin taught in the earliest Irish schools was like. A few hymns which it is almost impossible to locate in time cannot give us an idea of what the Latin of sixth century Ireland has been. It is only with the works of Columban, written towards the end of the sixth century that we get acquainted with the Latin of the Irish schools. What strikes us in studying the language of Columban is that it is fundamentally different from the Latin of Patrick. St Columban had been working in Bangor for a long time and when he decided to become a *peregrinus* he was already at a mature age, probably even an elderly man. Therefore we may assume that his Latin reflects the language taught and practised in the schools. But at the same time he is one of the first – and one of the most brillant – representatives of continental Irish Latin, for all the proseworks which have survived – I am not concerned with his poetry – were written during the 25 busy and difficult years he lived the life of a *peregrinus* on continental soil. The question even suggests itself whether the Latin of Columban has to be regarded, in the first place, as reflecting the language of the Irish scholastic centers, or whether it was thoroughly changed by his contacts with the spoken language of sixth and seventh century Gaul and, for the

last years of his life, of northern Italy. The question is a very difficult and intricate one, because on the one hand other information as to autochthonic Irish Latin of those days is almost completely lacking, and on the other hand our information on Merovingian Latin of the seventh century is scanty. Nevertheless an analysis of the language and style of Columban's works reveals certain interesting facts.

First of all: Columban follows the ancient tradition of classical and late Latin literature in so far that he varies his style with the character of his different works. The way in which he does this reminds us of certain Fathers of the Church, particularly of St Augustine. The style of his Letters is extremely florid and rhetorical, that of his Sermons is much simpler, whereas that of the Rules and monastic writings reminds us of the stern style of the *Regula Benedicti*, though the language as such is much more traditional than the popular sixth century Latin of Benedict.

The syntax of Columban's works is very traditional. There are a certain number of late Latin constructions, but on the whole the syntax is conventional. It is true that Columban does not always follow the strict rules of classical Latin, but the number and character of the late Latin constructions do not exceed the limits of cultivated, literary Latin as it was written by the best fifth century authors. In Columban's syntax we find the traditional system which follows the rules and standards of the Roman schools of the late Latin period [3]. In that part of Gaul, which has been called 'la Gaule barbare' [4], where for more than a century the public schools had disappeared and where the Church laboriously maintained a minimum of literary tradition, the syntax and structure of Columban's Latin must have been looked upon as a sort of anachronism.

In his vocabulary Columban follows the tradition of early Christian Latin and, at the same time, he practises a mannerism

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[3] For details see the *Index Grammaticus* made by L. Bieler in *Sancti Columbani Opera*, ed. by G. S. M. Walker, Dublin 1957, p. 231 sqq.

[4] See P. Riché, *Education et culture dans l'Occident barbare, VIe–VIIIe siècles*, Paris 1962, p. 254 sqq. — In this book, however excellent in many respects, the problems regarding the origins of Irish Latin are more or less neglected.

which shows a preference for unusual, rare, exotic, poetical and also archaic words. Whereas his syntax shows the influence of the traditional schoolbooks, his vocabulary is marked – apart from the elements due to the mannerism just mentioned, which he borrowed, as we will see later, from earlier models – by a very ancient and authentic Christian tradition. Not only do we find in his works the traditional current Christian vocabulary with its loanwords, its Latin Christian neologisms, etc., a vocabulary he knew from the Bible, the liturgy and the early Christian authors he was acquainted with, but we also find a certain number of very idiomatic old expressions, often going back to a very ancient Christian tradition and also to ancient monasticism. These elements show a profound familiarity with Christian tradition. I quote a few examples. *Ep.* 5, 12 he uses the old expression *Christianum nomen* for 'the Christians': *quomodo praevaluit inimicus Christiani nominis* [5]. – Columban seems to be very familiar with the ancient concept of the Church as Mother, e.g. *Ep.* 5, 12: *pro Ecclesiae unitate universae matris*; *ib.* 17: *laetitia Ecclesiae matris.* This concept which originated in the Church of Asia Minor was particularly popular in North Africa from the earliest Christian times and came to Rome at a rather late date (Pope Damasus); it seems to be very dear to Columban [6]. – It is difficult to say whether the use of *speculator* for *episcopus* (*Ep.* 1, 1; 5, 5) has to be explained as a mere 'translation' of the Greek term (though *episcopus* was normally explained and translated by *superintentor*) or whether it reflects the very old relation of the concept of *episcopus* to the *ἐπίσκοπος-speculator* 'sentinel' of *Ezek.* 33, as we find it *Didasc.* 4–7; *Const. Ap.* 2, 6; Cyrill of Jerusalem, *Cat. myst.* 4, 5; Augustine, *Serm.* 339.[7] – Very idiomatic is also the use of *pax* (*Ep.* 5, 17), that of *declarare* (*Ep.* 4, 6), etc. etc.

There are other usages which go back to a very old monastic tradition, e.g. *studium* for Greek *ἄσκησις* (*Ep.* 4, 6; *Reg. mon.* 9) [8],

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[5] See Chr. Mohrmann, Vigiliae Christianae 8 (1954), p. 154 sqq.

[6] See Joseph C. Plumpe, *Mater Ecclesia*, Washington 1943, *passim.*

[7] See Hans Kosmala, *Hebräer, Essener, Christen*, Leiden 1959, p. 287 sqq.; Chr. Mohrmann, Humanitas 13/14 (1962), p. 330 sqq.

[8] See L. Th. A. Lorié, *Spiritual Terminology in the Latin Translations of the Vita Antonii*, Nijmegen 1955, p. 69 sqq. and 98 sqq.

and particularly the concept of the life of the monk being a *martyrium* (*Reg. mon.* 9)[9].

An old tradition is also reflected by the use of the indicative mood in the doxologies, e.g. *Instr.* 1, 5: *cui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto est gloria in saecula saeculorum*; *Instr.* 2, 3: *cui est honor et gloria et virtus in saecula saeculorum*[10]. This use of the doxology with the indicative seems to have been traditional in Irish latinity: we find it, among others, in Adamnan and even in the *Navigatio Brendani*. On the other hand Gildas, the Briton, uses the subjunctive.

These examples show that Columban is deeply rooted in the early Christian tradition.

Summing up we can say that Columban's language is very traditional, that in its syntax and general structure it reflects the cultivated literary language of the fourth and fifth centuries, and that his vocabulary is a mixture of classical late Latin and, particularly, of very idiomatic Christian elements. These Christian elements often reflect a very old tradition. Columban also uses a certain number of very old monastic terms.

Columban's style, particularly in his letters, is very florid, often affected and from time to time of an almost grotesque turgidity. Particularly when he writes to important persons, he does his utmost to write a florid, highly inflated, bombastic style. Before trying to explain this phenomenon I again quote a few examples.

A typical example of the turgid style is found in the first words of *Epistula* 1, addressed to Pope Gregory the Great: *Domino sancto et in Christo Patri, Romanae pulcherrimo Ecclesiae decori, totius Europae flaccentis augustissimo quasi cuidam Flori, egregio speculatori, Theoria utpote divinae Castalitatis perito, ego, Bar-iona (vilis Columba) in Christo mitto salutem.* There is not only the rhyme: *decori – Flori – speculatori*, the use of *speculatori* already discussed, that of the rather unusual verb *flacceo*, but also that of the Greek *theoria* for meditation. Moreover we find the hapax *Castalitas*, explained in the eigth century St Gall cod. 912:

[9] See Edward E. Malone, *The Monk and the Martyr*, Washington 1950, *passim*.

[10] See A. J. Vermeulen, *The Semantic Development of Gloria in Early Christian Latin*, Nijmegen 1956, p. 175 and 214.

castalitati de elogutione. As far as I can see, by *divina Castalitas* Columban means Holy Scripture. Finally there is the explanation of the name by means of the Hebrew equivalent of *columba*, which we also find elsewhere in Irish Latin literature. – In *Ep.* 5, chap. 11, Columban explains to the Pope in Rome that in the days of old the fame of Rome had already been great, but that it was only by way of the message of Christ that it came to the shores of Ireland and became thus even greater. He says this in the most turgid and bombastic way possible: *quamquam enim Ausonici decoris, acsi augustissimum quoddam ac aetheris procul seiunctum climatibus promiscuis, urbis quondam conditae nomen nimio favore omnium prope gentium, totum per orbem usque in occidua transmundialis limitis loca, triundalibus saltuatim licet hyperbolice pelagi vorticibus undique consurgentibus mirum dictu non prohibentibus, longe lateque vulgatum est, ex eo tamen tempore, quo Dei filius homo esse dignatus est, ac in duobus illis ferventissimis Dei spiritus equis, Petro videlicet et Paulo apostolis, quorum cara pignora vos felices fecerunt, per mare gentium equitans turbavit aquas multas et innumerabilium populorum millibus multiplicavit quadrigas, supremus ipse auriga currus illius, qui est Christus, Pater verus, agitator Israel, trans euriporum rheuma, trans delfinum dorsa, trans turgescentem dodrantem ad nos usque pervenit. Ex tunc vos magni estis et clari, et Roma ipsa nobilior et clarior est.* Walker renders this passage, which defies translation, in the following way: "Although the name of the city which is Italy's glory, like something most holy and far removed from heaven's common climes, a city once founded to the great joy of almost all nations, has been published far and wide through the whole world, even as far as the Western regions of earth's farther strand, miraculously unhindered by ocean's surging floods, though they leaped and rose beyond measure upon every side, yet from that time when the Son of God deigned to be Man, and on those two most fiery steeds of God's Spirit, I mean the apostles Peter and Paul, whose dear relics have made you blessed, riding over the sea of nations troubled many waters and increased His chariots with countless thousands of peoples, the Most Highest Pilot of that carriage Who is Christ, the true Father, the Charioteer of Israel, over the channel's surge, over the dolphins' backs, over the swelling flood, reached

even unto us. From that time are you great and famous, and Rome herself is nobler and more famed."

It is impossible here to give an analysis of this intricate, turgid text. I can only point out a few characteristic details. The whole passage is a queer mixture of poetical, exotic and rhetorical words. According to a tendency of late Latin mannerism there are quite a few very rare words, like *transmundialis, triundalis* (only occurring in the glossaries), *dodrans* (which also occurs with this meaning in the *Hisperica Famina*). The words *equitans turbavit aquas* are reminiscent of classical poetry (Horace, *Carm.* 4, 4, 43; Ovid, *Met.* 3, 475). In *cara pignora* there could be a reminiscence of Virgil, *Ecl.* 8, 92, but the expression *pignora* for relics was very current in poetry and rhetorical prose. Above all there is a very peculiar image of Christ the pilot riding over the sea in His chariot with Peter and Paul as horses, an image culminating in the powerful description of the irresistible speed of the divine charioteer: *trans euriporum rheuma, trans delphinum dorsa, trans turgescentem dodrantem . . . ad nos usque pervenit.* This culminating end shows us a very particular trait of Columban's style (and of that of others following the same line): the use of exotic words in rhetorical or poetic passages.

At times this florid style, which betrays a very dynamic personality, is very suggestive. It has a realism expressing itself by way of very vivid images and metaphors, taken from life and often from the life of the *peregrini* themselves. There are e.g. the many metaphors of the sea, so characteristic of people living on an island and particulary of the Irish *peregrini* for whom the sea was often a substitute for the desert. There are the metaphors evoking the violence of the sea, like *Ep.* 4, 7: *ecce quibus circumdamur adversitatibus et quibus circumluimur acsi vorticum fragoribus* – "what as it were tumultuous eddies wash us round"; *Ep.* 5, 3: *ideo libere eloquar nostris utpote magistris ac spiritalis navis gubernatoribus ac mysticis proretis dicens, Vigilate, quia mare procellosum est et flabris exasperatur feralibus, quia non una sola minax unda, quae, etiam per motum pontum, semper cautis spumosis concavae vorticibus hyperbolice, licet de longe turgescens, extollitur, et ante se carbasa sulcatis Orco molibus trudit, sed tempestas totius elementi, nimirum undique consurgentis et undique commoti, mysticae navis naufragium*

intentat; ideo audeo timidus nauta clamare, Vigilate, quia aqua iam intravit in ecclesiae navem, et navis periclitatur: "therefore I shall speak out freely, saying to those that are our masters and helmsmen of the spiritual ship and mystic sentinels, Watch, for the sea is stormy and whipped up by fatal blasts, for it is not a solitary threatening wave such as, even across a slightly moved (silent) ocean, is raised to overweening heights from the ever-foaming eddies of a hollow rock, though it swells from afar, and drives the sails before it, while Death walks the waves, but it is a tempest of the entire element, surging indeed and swollen upon every side, that threatens shipwreck of the mystic vessel; thus do I, a fearful sailor, dare to cry, Watch, for water has now entered the vessel of the Church, and the vessel is in perilous straits" [11]. – Often it is the bark of St Peter which gives rise to sea-metaphors, but the way in which these are elaborated outdoes even the most lively images in the works of the Fathers of the Church. For, notwithstanding the traditional elements which go back to early Christian, patristic, tradition the reader of Columban is aware of the fact that his world is quite different from that of classical antiquity in which Christianity had taken root. Though Columban speaks the language of ancient Rome and of the early Christian Church, his spiritual attitude is already medieval. This is particularly clear in the prayers, in which the rigorism of the eastern monks runs together with an already very medieval tenderness. Once more I quote a few examples.

There is the rigorism declaiming against the human body, *Instr.* 7, 1: *quae frustrata quaeris, quae vituperata iteras, quae turpia ornas, quare te ipsam non consideras, o misera humanitas, intus putridam, felle, humore, liquore, sanguine, flegmate plenam, foris vero pellem lavatam, sed numquam tamen mundatam? semper enim de intimo immunditiae caeno coinquinaris, pollueris; licet cottidie lavaris, cottidie violaris. O pullatam pellem, frustra lavaris, quae natura immunda es.* "While you seek what is denied, repeat what is condemned, and gild what is foul, why do you not take notice of yourself, wretched mankind, inwardly rotten, full of bile, rheum, fluid, blood, and phlegm, but outwardly a skin washed yet never

[11] Translation Walker.

clean? For you are always stained and defiled from the inner filth of your uncleanness; though you be daily washed, you are polluted daily. Defiled skin, in vain are you washed that are unclean by nature" [12]. And thus he goes on, working himself up, in what follows, to an almost scabrous tirade on the uncleanness of the human body. No early Christian author of the West, not even the excessive rigorist Tertullian has ever said things like these. Here we are nearer to Peter Damiani than to any early Christian author, except those belonging to the early Egyptian monastic tradition.

On the other hand there is also, in Columban's prayers, an already medieval tenderness, *Instr.* 12, 3: *Domine, da mihi, rogo te, in nomine Iesu Christi Filii tui, Dei mei, illam quae nescit cadere caritatem, ut mea lucerna accendi sciat, exstingui nesciat, mihi ardeat, aliis luceat. Tu, Christe, lucernas nostras accendere digneris, dulcissime nobis Salvator noster, quo perpetuae luceant in templo tuo, ac perenne lumen a te perenni lumine accipiant, ut tenebrae nostrae illuminentur, mundi autem tenebrae a nobis fugentur. Sic lumen tuum meae largiaris, rogo, Iesu mi, lucernae . . . Tuum sit, quaeso, te nobis pulsantibus monstrare, amantissime Salvator, ut te intellegentes, tantum te amemus, te solum amemus, te solum desideremus, te solum meditemur die ac nocte, semper te cogitemus; et in tantum nobis tuum inspirare digneris amorem, quantum te amari Deum decet ac diligi; ut omnia interiora nostra tua occupet dilectio, totosque tuus possideat amor, totos nostros sensus tua impleat caritas, ut praeter te aliud amare nesciamus, qui sempiternus es; quo tanta caritas aquis multis huius aeris et huius terrae et huius maris exstingui in nobis nequeat . . .* "Lord grant me, I pray Thee in the name of Jesus Christ Thy Son, my God, that love which knows no fall, so that my lamp may feel the kindling touch and know no quenching, may burn for me and for others may give light. Do Thou, Christ, deign to kindle our lamps, our Saviour most sweet to us, that they may shine continually in Thy temple, and receive perpetual light from Thee the Light perpetual, so that our darkness may be enlightened, and yet the world's darkness may be driven from us. Thus do Thou enrich my lantern with Thy light, I pray

[12] Translation Walker.

Thee, Jesus mine . . . Be it Thine, I beg, most loving Saviour, to reveal Thyself to us who beseech Thee, so that knowing Thee, we may love Thee only, love Thee alone, desire Thee alone, contemplate Thee alone by day and night, and ever hold Thee in our thoughts; and do Thou deign so far to inspire us with Thy love, as it befits Thee to be loved and cherished as our God; that Thy charity may possess all our inward parts and Thy love may own us all, and Thine affection may fill our senses, so that we may know no other love apart from Thee who art eternal; that such affection may be in us impossible of quenching by the many waters of this air and land and sea. . . " [13] The language is simpler here, the 'sentimental' elements are already medieval. Apostrophes like *dulcissime salvator*, *amantissime salvator*, *Iesu mi*, remind one of Bernard of Clairvaux and, even more, of St Francis of Assisi.

In the rigorism as well as in the 'sentimentality' of these passages the spirituality of the middle ages announces itself.

But, though there are elements in the spiritual attitude of Columban already anticipating the medieval mind, the *linguistic* and *stylistic* form of his work is still rooted in a late Latin tradition.

When we read the highly florid style of Columban with its many exotic, Greek, words, with its many unusual, often poetical, or only rare words, but also with its many very authentic Christian elements, when we observe the elaborate and complicated, but often very suggestive metaphors, the artificial wordorder, and so many other features of his turgid style, then it becomes clear that Columban is practising – although in a very personal way – a literary mannerism, which goes back to an older period of latin literature, and particularly to the latin tradition of Gaul. The mannerism of Columban's style is essentially that of fourth and fifth century authors of Gaul, such as Victricius of Rouen (about (330–409), Paulinus of Nola (353–431), a native of Bordeaux and a pupil of Ausonius, and, a generation later, Sidonius Apollinaris (432–487).

There are in the works of Columban, not only in his poetry, a certain number of reminiscences of classical literature [14]. Many of them seem to have entered Columban's works as traditional

[13] Translation Walker.

[14] See Walker, *o.c.*, p. 221 sq.

stylistic elements rather than through a direct contact with classical literature [15]. There is also the possibility that the works of grammarians are the source of these classical reminiscences [16]. Profane Latin literature has surely been practised in the Irish schools to a certain extent, but I fully agree with Riché that we must not overrate the classical background of Columban and his circle. At any rate there is no trace of classical studies in Luxueil [17].

To return to Columban's language and style, it is not only in the syntax and the structure of the language that we find traces of fourth and fifth century Latin, but by the style too we are carried back to the same period, and particularly to Gaul. And thus the words of Kenney quoted at the beginning of this article are confirmed by linguistic and stylistic evidence. The language of St Columban does not reflect the Latin of Merovingian Gaul of the beginning of the seventh century and his style, as his language, takes us back to a much earlier period.

This statement leads us to an important conclusion: if Columban is not influenced, or only slightly, by the language of his Gallic surroundings, if he does not speak the language of Merovingian Gaul, then he speaks the Latin he has learnt – and probably taught – in his Irish surroundings, in Bangor. It is, after all, quite normal that a man who goes at a mature age to a country where culture, particularly literary culture, was collapsing and which was thus inferior to his own milieu, is not affected by that lower culture. And here again I must draw the reader's attention to a particular trait of Columban's works. Ever since the fourth century it was a *topos* recurring in almost every literary work to apologize for the bad language one writes. Gregory of Tours, whose language, given the linguistic situation in Gaul, was without any doubt traditional and even according to strict standards rather good, repeatedly excuses himself, speaking of his *rusticitas* . . . as countless other authors had done before him. Now it is very characteristic of the rather high-brow attitude of Columban, that he seldom excuses himself for his language, but often for his 'bad manners', his frankness and boldness, which he considers as

[15] See L. Bieler, *Mélanges Columbaniens*, Paris 1951, p. 95 sqq.
[16] See Riché, *o.c.*, p. 358.
[17] *O.c.*, p. 371 sqq.

particularly Irish, and of which he is rather proud! Thus e.g. *Ep.* 5, 11: *sed indulgete mihi talia confragosa loca tractanti, si qua forinsecus verba aures pias offenderunt, quia consequentiae ratio historiae nihil me de quaestione praeterire permittit, et libertas paternae consuetudinis, ut ita dicam, me audere ex parte facit.* "But you must pardon me as I handle such rough passages, if any of my words have caused outward offence to godly ears, since the inner nature of the sequence of events allows me to omit nothing from my inquiry, and the freedom of my country's customs, to put it so, has been part-cause of my audacity." And a little farther on in the same letter, *Ep.* 5, 14: *date, quaeso, veniam mihi nimis iniurioso asperoque cuidam loquaci, qui de tali causa aliter scribere non potui . . . sed quando rex gentilis peregrinum scribere Longobardus Scotum hebetem rogat, quando unda torrentis antiqui retro redundat, quis non mirabitur potius quam calumniabitur? Ego tamen non trepidabo . . .* "I beg you to pardon me, too hurtful and rough a speaker; on such a matter I could not write otherwise . . . but yet when a gentile king of the Lombards asks a dull Irish pilgrim to write, when the tide of the old flood is turning back, who will not wonder rather than revile? Yet I shall not tremble . . ."[18]

It is in this self-conscious attitude that we find the chief explanation of the general character of Columban's language and style. Coming from Bangor to Merovingian Gaul and, at the end of his life, to northern Italy occupied by the Longobards, he feels himself superior to the people of desorganized and devastated Gaul because of his Irish school-education and also to that of Longobard northern Italy, and thus he sticks to his Irish school-Latin.

But, if in the language and style of Columban we have a specimen of Irish Latin as it was taught in the second half of the sixth century in a center like Bangor, then the question arises, how we may explain the special character of this Latin, which is so near to the mannerism of certain fourth and fifth century writers, particularly those of Gaul, and, moreover, so different from the Latin of St Patrick. I hardly dare to give an answer to this question. There is the possibility of an indirect influence from Gaul, which reached Ireland by way of Britain. Certain charac-

[18] Translation Walker.

teristics of the style of Columban are also found in the Latin of Gildas. Though Gildas' Latin is surely inferior to that of Columban, it shows the same tendency to use unusual words, to introduce foreign words, and to write a turgid style. There are in the language of Columban as in that of Gildas certain elements which seem to go back to the bizarre tradition of the grammarian Virgilius Maro, who on his turn seems to be in relation with the *Hisperica Famina*. But, however this may be, certain historical facts make it possible that the Gallic mannerism of the fourth and fifth centuries already mentioned was introduced into Britain. We know that in this period, particularly in the fourth and the first half of the fifth century, there were frequent contacts between the church of Britain and that of Gaul. Victricius of Rouen, Germain of Auxerre and others visited Britain and thus we cannot exclude the possibility of an influence of Gallic literary circles on the Latin of Britain. For the second half of the fifth century and the sixth there is little evidence of contacts between the church of the continent of Europe and that of Britain. On the other hand the relations of the Irish church with British Christianity in the fifth century make it possible that the 'Gallic literary tradition' entered Ireland by way of Britain [19].

But, on the other hand, we should not exclude the possibility of a direct continental influence on Irish Latin by way of continental refugees coming to Ireland. This theory seems to find support in the so-called Leyden Glossary. The MS. Leyden MLVP 70 (s. XII) f. 79 contains a glossary entitled *Quaedam exempla utilium verborum*, including, without relation to its setting, a short note on the barbarian invasions of Gaul, in which it is said that at the "devastation all the learned men on this side of the sea took flight, and in transmarine parts, namely in Ireland and wherever they betook themselves, brought about a very great increase of learning to the inhabitants of those regions". It seems certain that the original of this extract was written in Gaul in the sixth or seventh century and that it represents a tradition then held regarding the decline of learning on the continent and its advance in Ireland [20].

[19] See Kenney, *o.c.*, p. 170 sqq.; Riché, *o.c.*, p. 357.

[20] Kenney, *o.c.*, p. 142 sq.

I leave it to the judgment of more competent scholars to judge the two possibilities suggested here, but it may be considered as an established fact that the Latin of Columban, which seems to be the result of sixth century Irish school-education, shows a strong influence of the literary mannerism of fourth and fifth century Gaul. This mannerism cannot simply be characterized as 'Asianism'. When Riché, *o.c.* 359, says that the "style hispérique ... doit ... être rattaché à un courant bien connu de la littérature, qui s'était surtout développé en Afrique, l'Asianisme", I agree with him that this particular mannerism has certain contacts with Asianism; nevertheless it is, in my opinion, quite an autonomous stylistic phenomenon, a typical 'phénomène de décadence' having its origin in certain isolated, aristocratic, literary circles.

This brings us to a new question: is there any evidence that the Latin we know from the works of Columban has exercised an influence on the Latin of continental Irish circles? It is impossible to discuss details here, but it seems certain that in Bobbio at least the literary example of Columban has been followed by his biographer Ionas.

Ionas was born in Susa in Piemonte, about the year 600, becoming a monk in Bobbio a few years after the death of Columban and writing the life of the Irish monk about the year 640, when he was staying in Gaul. His Latin is a queer mixture of the florid 'Irish' style of Columban and elements of the vulgar Latin of northern Italy. In the morphological and syntactical system of his Latin the traditional rules are more or less neglected. Thus far it is clear that for Ionas Latin still was the living vernacular. But, on the other hand, his Latin in many respects resembles that of Columban: not only does he imitate, particularly in the crucial passages of his work, the florid style of Columban, but he also follows him in his preference for Greek words (*agapis*, *antidotum*, *cenodoxia*, etc.), and for poetical words and unusual rhetorical expressions. These elements contrast in a rather bizarre way with the vulgar Latin elements of his language.

Also at a later date this mannerism does not restrict itself to the continental Irish texts. About fifty years after Ionas of Piemonte had written his life of Columban, Adamnan, ninth abbot of Hy (Iona), born in Drumhome, County Donegal, one of the greatest

scholars Iona produced, wrote his life of St Columba (Columkille). His Latin does not share the vulgar elements we find in Ionas' *Vita Columbani*. Like Columban Adamnan is a product of the Irish schools; for him Latin was not a living vernacular as it was for Ionas, but in his work we again find the tendency to use Greek words, poetical terms, rare words, and although – according to hagiographical tradition – his style is simpler than Columban's, the rhetorical mannerism with its florid diction often breaks through the narrative style of the hagiographical story.

The Latin of Adamnan clearly shows the same thing as was already concluded from other facts, viz., that the Latin of Columban reflects an Irish school-tradition. What this Latin could become in the mouth of a man who – living in Irish surroundings on the continent – spoke Latin as his mother tongue is shown by the language and style of Ionas.

We also find this combination of vulgar continental elements and of an Irish Latin tradition in a text which is supposed to be of a much later date, the *Navigatio Brendani*. This highly interesting document, which its latest editor, Prof. Selmer, called 'a christianized epic', clearly reflects an Irish tradition as regards its language [21]. Professor Selmer thinks that the home of the *Navigatio* was in old Lotharingia, where, as he thinks, the diffusion of the work was first materially advanced by the Scotti themselves, whose monasteries were spread over a large territory. Professor Selmer considers the first half of the tenth century as the probable date of the composition of the *Navigatio*. He even suggests the name of a possible author, a Scotus named Israel: *Israel episcopus*, called *Scottigena*, a refugee from the Norman invasions, who is known as a famous scholar and author of Latin works and who flourished in the first half of the tenth century. He was associated with the Irish colony of Laon [22]. I confess that I am rather sceptical about this suggestion, because the language of the *Navigatio* is very far from what we should expect from a product of the Irish colony of Laon.

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[21] *Navigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis*, ed. by Carl Selmer, Notre Dame 1959, p. XXX.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. XXVII. – Carl Selmer, *Israel, ein unbekannter Schotte des 10. Jahrhunderts*, Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens 62, 1950, p. 69 sqq.

Language and style of this monastic epic are highly interesting. The monotonous repetition of fixed formulae, the uniformity of the structure of the sentences with their constantly repeated relative pronouns linking the clauses together, all these elements remind us of the formulae of ancient Greek epic poetry, but perhaps it is more correct to say that here we find universal elements of popular story telling. Also recurrent are certain linguistic elements which can only be explained by the influence of the Romance vernacular, such as the use of *ille* and *unus* as articles, the frequent use of *se* and *sibi* in all sorts of syntactical functions, the frequent use of *de partitivum*, the verbal periphrasis with *coepi*, etc. etc. There are also certain elements reflecting a very idiomatic usage going back to living Latin, secular late Latin as well as Christian Latin, such as the use of the plural *carnes* for meat, of the plural *ligna*, of Christian expressions like *dominicum trophaeum* for the sign of the cross, *benedictio* for *eulogia* 'blessed gift', the ancient use of the indicative mood in the doxology [23], the Gallic use of *Theophania* for Epiphany [24], etc. etc. This work also records very interesting liturgical facts, which I cannot discuss here, but which could help us to fix the date of composition of the *Navigatio*. On the other hand I think that the 'classical' elements of the text are more or less overrated. The use of *Thetis* for the sea, often quoted in order to show the classical background of the *Navigatio*, can be explained by the Irish tradition. The term occurs in Columban and also in the *Hisperica Famina*. However, we cannot deny that certain passages and episodes must be explained as a sort of Christian version of famous epic stories.

It is very interesting to see how in the *Vita Brendani prima* all those elements are carefully eliminated which reflect the usage of the 'living language'. A close examination of the Latin of the *Navigatio* and of that of the *Vita Prima* could lead, I think, to interesting results. Meanwhile I give as my first impression, after a rather superficial study of the language of both texts, that the *Navigatio* may be much older than Professor Selmer supposes.

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[23] See p. 221 of this study.

[24] See Chr. Mohrmann, *Etudes sur le Latin des Chrétiens* I², Rome 1961, p. 270.

Mario Esposito has suggested the seventh century[25]. For the moment I abstain from giving an opinion upon this complicated problem.

Columban and his companions, and in general the Irish we find on the continent up to the ninth century, were driven by an ascetic spirit. The motive of their presence abroad was the *Peregrinatio pro Dei amore, propter nomen Domini*. The command to Abraham *Egredere de terra tua et de cognatione tua* seems to have appealed very strongly to the Irish people.

Nevertheless the main contribution of Irish exiles to European letters and learning took place later, in the ninth century, and as a result of other than purely ascetic forces. In the ninth century the Norse Vikings were dealing their heaviest blows to the Irish monasteries. It was in this period that men came to the continent whose chief interest was in scholarship, and who brought to Europe the fruits of Irish scholastic learning at its best. It is with these men, like Sedulius Scotus and his circle in Liège, Johannes Scotus Eriugena and the Irish colony of Laon and Reims, that a new phase in the history of continental Irish Latin began. It is with these men that Irish Latin became a learned and scholarly language, that it became real medieval Latin. Nevertheless certain features which we have found in earlier Irish Latin, viz., a tendency to a florid style, a preference for exotic, Greek terms and rare words, live on in the scholarly Latin of these great representatives of the Irish schools, and they give their works that particular flavour which makes them recognizable as products of the circles of the Scoti. But at the same time other Scoti may have carried on the ascetic tradition once introduced by the *peregrini*, who like Columban and others showed an astonishing combination of what a modern scholar has called:

L'amour des Lettres et le Désir de Dieu[26].

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[25] See M. Esposito, Hermathena 20 (1930), p. 258 sq. — L. Gougaud, *Les saints irlandais hors d'Irlande*, Louvain–Oxford 1936, p. 7.

[26] Dom Jean Leclercq, *L'amour des Lettres et le désir de Dieu*, Initiation aux auteurs monastiques du moyen âge, Paris 1957. The author does not pay much attention to the contribution of Irish monasticism to the literary and monastic movement of the middle ages.

REVIEWS

Bibliographia Patristica. Internationale Patristische Bibliographie, herausgegeben von W. Schneemelcher. III. Die Erscheinungen des Jahres 1958. Berlin W 35, Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1960. Pp. XXXII + 119. – IV. Die Erscheinungen des Jahres 1959. Berlin W 30, Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1961. Pp. XL + 126. – V. Die Erscheinungen des Jahres 1960. *Ibid.* 1962. Pp. XXIV + 114. Pr. DM 23.– per vol.

The volumes III, IV, and V of the *Bibliographia Patristica* give evidence of the active endeavour of the editors to bring this bibliography to perfection. They rightly did not want to introduce changes before having received a sufficient number of reactions, and having maturely considered suggested improvements. Therefore in the volumes III and IV, which appeared shortly after the first two, the arrangement has remained the same. But the list of abbreviations shows a considerable increase of the already large quantity of materials worked up. In vol. V, however, the arrangement has undergone numerous alterations. The most important of these are the following: The subsection I 5 c: *Opera ad argumenta philosophica, linguistica similiaque spectantia*, has been replaced by two separate subsections, viz., *Philosophica* and *Philologia patristica*. – *Hagiographica* are now classed in section III, in which editions, commentaries, etc. are listed. – Section VI dealing with the *Doctrina auctorum et historia dogmatum* has got a much more subtle division. – A new section has been added in which *Gnostica* are brought together. – There is no doubt that these changes are all improvements and have effected an entirely satisfactory arrangement of the materials; a still finer distinction does not seem desirable, as it runs the risk of overshooting its mark. I only should like to repeat a suggestion with regard to the section dealing with the individual authors (cf. my review of the first two volumes, Vig. Christ. 15 (1961), 125): this section would certainly gain in clearness, if editions, commentaries and translations would be mentioned first, and monographs and articles after.

It is to be regretted that these volumes, too, do not yet give exhaustive information, as an examination of the data on Tertullian, Arnobius, St Ambrose, and the *Peregrinatio Egeriae* proved to me.[1]

[1] Lacking are: M. Turcan, *Aedes Solis au Grand Cirque*, REL 36 (1958), 255/62 (on Tert. *spect.* 8); J. B. Bauer, *Zu Firmicus Maternus, De errore profanarum religionum*, 5, 4, Eranos 57 (1959), 73/5; J. Campos, *De stilo tertullianeo. Giros prerománicos del verbo habere*, SEJG 10 (1958), 353/8; P. Lehmann, *Tertullian im Mittelalter*, Hermes 87 (1959), 231/46; B. Luiselli, *Sulla pseudonimia di Vincenzo di Lerino*, A & R 4 (1959), 216/22; J. G. Préaux, *Deus Christianorum Onocoetes*, Hommages L. Herrmann (Coll.

But now that the *Bibl. Patr.* seems to have taken a more or less definite form we may safely trust that the editors, who deserve nothing but praise for the energetic and clever way in which they have organized and started this difficult enterprise, will also succeed in meeting this fundamental requirement.

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Gerhart B. Ladner, *The Idea of Reform, Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1959. XIII & 553 pp.

This book which deals with the idea of reform in the age of the Fathers is in many respects a very remarkable piece of work, covering an enormous field of early Christian theological, philosophical, spiritual and cultural life.

Distinguishing between the idea of reform and other manifestations of the more general idea of renewal the author defines reform

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Latomus 44, Berchem-Bruxelles 1960), 639/54 (cf. RBPh 37 (1959), 527/8); C. Tibiletti, *Il proemio di Floro, Seneca il Retore e Tertulliano*, Convivium n.s. 3 (1959), 339/42; A. Louf, *Caper emissarius ut typus Redemptoris apud Patres*, Verbum Domini 38 (1960), 262/77; B. Luiselli, *Il codex Trecensis* 523 *e alcune citazioni scritturali nel De baptismo tertullianeo*, RCCM 2 (1960), 209/16; P. Siniscalco, *Il motivo razionale della resurrezione della carne in due passi di Tertulliano*, AAT 95 (1960/1), 195/221; C. Tibiletti, *Un opusculo perduto di Tertulliano, Ad amicum philosophum*, AAT 95 (1960/1), 122/66; V. Bulhart, *Arnobiana*, WS 71 (1958), 168/9; P. Courcelle, *La postérité chrétienne du Songe de Scipion*, REL 36 (1958), 205/34; *Silviae vel potius Aetheriae Peregrinatio ad loca sancta*, 5. Aufl. v. O. Prinz (Samml. vulgärlat. Texte I, Heidelberg, Winter, 1960). — The article by B. Haegglund, *Die Bedeutung der regula fidei als Grundlage theologischer Aussagen*, STh 12 (1958), 1/44, is only mentioned under Irenaeus, though it deals as much with Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria. Likewise under Tert. a reference is wanting to R. A. Markus, *Trinitarian theology and the economy*, JThS 9 (1958), 89/102, dealing in the first place with this writer, to J. Campos, *El autor de la Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, Helmantica 10 (1959), 357/81, vindicating Tertullian's authorship, and to A. Lauras, *Saint Léon le Grand et la tradition*, RecSR 48 (1960), 166/84, who discusses similarities in the treatment of this subject between this Pope and Tert. — In the Preface of vol. IV Professor Schneemelcher writes: "Ausserdem muss ich betonen, dass die Patristik, der wir mit der Bibliographia Patristica dienen wollen, nicht identisch ist mit der Philologie der Spätantike." I hope that the omission of part of the above-mentioned works has not been caused by a too narrow interpretation of this view, however correct in itself. It should not be forgotten that only philology is able to remove the most important obstacle we have in studying early Christianity, which consists in the scarceness of reliable text-editions, not to speak of philological commentaries. Therefore, by also rendering the philological information on the ancient Christian writers as full as possible the *Bibl. Patr.* will make an essential contribution to the cause it is intended to advance.

as "the idea of free, intentional and ever perfectible, multiple, prolonged and ever repeated efforts by man to reassert and augment values pre-existent in the spiritual-material compound of the world" (p. 35). This rather complicated definition requires, according to the author, two important qualifications: "first: its role is that of a provisional conceptual tool only . . ., which may not always fit the historical material exactly. Various types of renewal ideas did, of course, mix and blend with the idea of reform." And "second: granted the possibility of defining the idea of reform and of studying and describing it as a historical fact, as a phenomenon essentially Christian in origin and early development, it does not follow implicitly that the idea corresponds to a reality. That it often does not is no serious problem, but whether it ever does is a question whereby the terms contained in the definition are transposed from the history of ideology to that of preterideological existence." (*ibid.*). After this definition and these restrictions nobody will expect a clear historical report of a phenomenon which can be considered as the inner life-spring of Christian tradition and which is closely related to man's being created in God's image. But in the more or less fragmentary way it deals with its immense subject the book is still very stimulating, not only for scholars in the field of early Christian studies, but for all those who are interested in a problem, which is as topical today as it was nineteen centuries ago.

Dr Ladner starts with a study of the pre-christian, biblical and patristic terminology of renewal and reform: a rather superficial and more or less disorderly survey of very heterogeneous elements.

The two essential parts of the book are: part two, which is entitled: 'The early Christian Idea of reform' and part three, dealing with 'monasticism as a vehicle of the Christian idea of reform in the age of the Fathers'. In both parts the central point is St Augustine. In the first part we find a brilliant analysis of the leading ideas of Augustine's *Civitas Dei*, which constitutes, in my opinion, the best part of the book. Comparing the general trends of eastern and western ideas of reform the author ascertains that "Greek patristic thought emphasized above all the restoration of the creational integrity of the universe and of man and the terrestrial representation of original God-nearness in a present world order upheld by the ruler and by the monk" (p. 133). On the other hand, the west knew societal categories of reform on a much larger scale than the east. "In this . . . western development the scriptural idea of the heavenly Jerusalem, the Polis of God, was one of the most important influences." Not that the conception of the Holy City was absent from, or unimportant in, Greek Christendom, but, says Dr Ladner: "the idea of the heavenly city, of the *Civitas Dei*, especially in its Augustinian formulation, was much more important

for the history of reform in the Christian west than in the east." (p. 132).

In the third part Dr Ladner justly stresses the great impact of monasticism as a vehicle of the Christian idea of reform in the later part of the early Christian age. I am afraid that in this part too great a stress is laid on Augustinian monasticism. It would have been preferable, if Augustine's programme of education had been studied independently from the ascetic ideal of reform; on the other hand we had expected some remarks on Jerome's ideas on education in relation with the ascetic ideal.

These few remarks can hardly do justice to the richness of a book which combines solid learning and command of modern scholarship with an interest in general, also contemporaneous, problems. This interest becomes evident also from the 'Excursuses' (p. 427–493), particularly from those on: The definition of an idea (exc. I), Metahistorical Conceptions (II), Points of contact between St. Augustine and modern Mathematics and Science (IV).

Nijmegen, 40 Sint Annastraat CHRISTINE MOHRMANN

Anne-Marie Malingrey, *Philosophia, Étude d'un groupe de mots dans la littérature grecque, des Présocratiques au IVe siècle après J.-C.*, Paris, Klincksieck, 1961, 326 pp.

Ce livre se présente comme une étude sémasiologique des mots du groupe de *philosophia* (j'emprunte cette formule à l'auteur), de ses origines jusqu'au IVe siècle de notre ère. Quoique l'auteur ait voulu étudier surtout la confrontation paganisme – christianisme telle qu'elle se reflète dans ces mots-clefs de la culture antique, elle a voué 68 pages à l'histoire du mot *philosophia* dans la littérature païenne et une vingtaine de pages au rôle des mots du groupe dans la littérature du judaïsme hellénistique. Après ces deux chapitres, plus ou moins préparatoires, Mlle M. étudie successivement ces termes aux origines chrétiennes, chez les Apologètes, chez Clément d'Alexandrie, chez Origène et ses contemporains, chez Eusèbe de Césarée, chez les Cappadociens et chez Jean Chrysostome. Ainsi l'auteur couvre une longue période de la langue et de la pensée grecques, commençant par Pythagore et poursuivant ses recherches jusqu'à Jean Chrysostome. Ce programme pose un problème de méthode: faut-il, pour étudier un terme ou un groupe de mots qui, pendant de longs siècles, ont été des mots-clefs de la vie intellectuelle et spirituelle, étendre ses investigations à de longues périodes, ou bien faut-il se limiter à tel ou tel auteur, ou groupe d'auteurs, à une seule période, ou à un milieu défini? Faut-il

se hasarder à donner une étude de grande envergure ou bien se pencher sur le détail, espérant qu'un jour une série de travaux de détail offrira les matériaux d'une synthèse? On ne saurait répondre à cette question une fois pour toutes, la réponse étant déterminée par des facteurs très divers, dépendants de circonstances particulières. Toujours est-il que dans le domaine du grec des chrétiens, où les études sémasiologiques – exception faite pour le grec biblique – sont assez rares, une étude d'ensemble portant sur de longs siècles est une entreprise hasardeuse. Ceci pour dire que Mlle M. s'est imposé une tâche extrêmement lourde et pour excuser certaines faiblesses dans l'application d'une méthode qui se prêterait mieux à une étude de détail qu'à une grande synthèse. Sa tâche est encore rendue plus difficile par le fait que le groupe *philosophia* n'est pas de nature à rendre aisé un examen purement linguistique. Or on ne saurait dire que toutes les phases du processus de la rencontre de christianisme et de philosophie antique se reflètent clairement dans un terme, ou un groupe de termes, qui était tellement consacré par l'usage qu'il se prêtait à peine à un vrai changement de sens. *Philosophia* a été un mot terriblement résistant. Il en résulte que Mlle M. s'est trouvée aux prises avec une tâche extrêmement ardue et délicate en même temps. Elle a dû recueillir des matériaux considérables pour déterminer les grandes étapes de l'évolution, qu'elle a, en général, bien définies, grâce à une analyse subtile des textes cruciaux.

A suivre Mlle M. dans ce travail, on s'aperçoit de plus en plus clairement que *philosophia* change rarement de sens à proprement parler, mais devient plutôt le mot central, le mot-clef du dialogue christianisme-paganisme. Très souvent, hélas! ce dialogue porte uniquement sur des mots, pour ne pas dire qu'il devient un jeu de mots.

Quand Philon désigne par *philosophia* tantôt le désir de connaître la Révélation du Dieu d'Israël, tantôt la Révélation elle-même, les mots ne deviennent pas de vrais termes techniques, il s'agit d'un essai d'adaptation. Quand Justin, à son tour, dit que le message du Christ est 'la seule philosophie sûre et profitable', la formule même nous avertit qu'un vrai changement de sens n'a pas eu lieu. Quand Clément d'Alexandrie parle de *ἡ κατὰ Χριστὸν φιλοσοφία*, il va un peu plus loin que Justin, mais ici encore, du point de vue de la langue, il n'a pas passé une frontière. Et quand il dit, juxtaposant une définition platonicienne et une expression empruntée au quatrième évangile: 'La philosophie consiste dans la recherche de la vérité et la vérité, c'est le Christ', il s'agit d'un énoncé très hardi du point de vue chrétien, mais on ne saurait dire que par cette définition – si définition il y a – *philosophia* ait adopté un vrai sens nouveau. Mlle Malingrey a bien vu que *philosophia* a eu besoin

longtemps d'épithètes, voire de déterminatifs pour désigner des réalités chrétiennes. Ce n'est qu'avec les Cappadociens que la situation change.

A un moment donné, Mlle Malingrey l'a bien observé, le mot *philosophia* devint susceptible de désigner la recherche de la réalité transcendante que le chrétien nomme Dieu (p. 299). La formule est prudemment choisie: 'le terme devint susceptible', jamais il n'est devenu un vrai terme technique. *Philosophia* a joué son rôle dans le domaine de la foi, de l'ascèse, de la spiritualité, mais jamais il n'est devenu un vrai terme technique désignant une réalité chrétienne, ni dans le domaine de *πίστις*, ni dans celui de *ἄσκησις*, ni dans celui de *εὐσέβεια*.

L'absence du terme *philosophia* de l'Écriture sainte est éloquente et – qui plus est – elle a été décisive. Le travail patient de Mlle Malingrey nous dépeint l'image passionnante du dialogue de christianisme et de philosophie, dans le domaine de la langue. Elle en détaille tous les rapprochements, elle nous montre l'influence exercée par la philosophie sur la pensée chrétienne, mais le fait, signalé par elle à la page 299, que le rôle capital joué par la Révélation dans le judaïsme et dans le christianisme est en désaccord avec l'un des aspects essentiels du mot *philosophia*, n'a jamais été oublié ni effacé. C'est pourquoi *philosophia* pouvait se prêter à toute espèce d'adaptation, jamais il n'est devenu, au cours des quatre premiers siècles chrétiens, un vrai terme technique de la pensée et de la langue chrétiennes.

CHRISTINE MOHRMANN

A. Benoit, *Saint Irénée. Introduction a l'étude de sa théologie*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1960 (Etudes d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses publiées sous les auspices de la faculté de théologie protestante de l'université de Strasbourg). 274 pp. N. F. 14.

L'évolution des recherches irénéennes reflète exactement l'évolution dans l'étude de l'histoire en général. "D'un stade non critique, où l'on ne s'embarrassait guère de questions relatives à l'unité de la pensée d'Irénée, on en est arrivé à un stade critique et hypercritique, d'abord axé sur la recherche des sources, puis sur celle des thèmes littéraires" (p. 40). A cause de cette concentration sur les sources et les formes on risquait souvent de perdre de vue l'homme, qui avait écrit le livre; or les recherches historiques modernes ont cette orientation sur l'homme: l'étude de M. Benoit est un fruit mûr de cette évolution.

Dans le chapitre premier, intitulé "Historique et principes méthodologiques", l'auteur discute les problèmes que rencontre l'historien qui veut aborder l'étude de la pensée irénéenne, et il critique le travail des générations passées. Cette critique est très claire et très positive. L'auteur se propose d'achever ce travail; il cherche à profiter des leçons du passé. Cela s'avère dans les chapitres suivants de la première partie. Le but de ces pages est de préciser le cadre historique, dans lequel Irénée a vecu, ainsi que son contexte personnel (cf. p. 47). Mais toutes ces données, qui pour la plus grande partie ne sont qu'un résumé des résultats déjà acquis, servent à pénétrer plus avant dans la pensée irénéenne. Dans ce but l'auteur dépeint la vie d'Irénée, la physionomie de l'Eglise de Lyon, la formation intellectuelle et la culture d'Irénée, et en particulier sa connaissance biblique. Derrière tout cela on voit surgir le danger immense, qui menace en ces jours l'Eglise et contre lequel Irénée est engagé dans un combat réel et quotidien: les doctrines gnostiques, surtout la gnose de Valentin. On ne peut guère exagérer les mérites de l'évêque de Lyon dans cette lutte. Il est, comme il dit lui-même, le premier qui ait étudié les doctrines de cette hérésie. Cette circonstance rend sa réfutation de la gnose plus importante et plus efficace. L'auteur aurait pu développer ce point un peut plus. Il en est de même à propos du fait important qu'Irénée relie les traditions de l'Occident et de l'Orient. L'auteur cite un texte de Sagnard disant que la valeur exceptionnelle de ce témoignage n'a pas encore suffisamment mise en relief (p. 51). Quelle a été l'autorité du théologien, né en Asie Mineure, écrivant en grec en Gaule?

La deuxième partie de l'ouvrage est consacrée aux oeuvres d'Irénée. L'auteur fait une analyse littéraire de l'*Adversus Haereses*. Cette analyse lui permet des remarques très intéressantes sur le plan et le mode de composition de l'ouvrage, ainsi que sur la methode à suivre dans l'étude de la pensée irénéenne. Puis l'auteur étudie les grands thèmes de l'*Adversus Haereses*. Irénée nous apparaît comme un théologien de l'unité, un théologien de l'histoire, un théologien de la récapitulation (cf. p. 227). Un examen de l'autre ouvrage d'Irénée, *La Démonstration*, confirme ces résultats.

Après la lecture de ce livre de M. Benoit on est heureux de savoir qu'il se propose de publier un autre livre sur la *Théologie d'Irénée*. Alors il mettra en relief ce qu'il dit dans la conclusion sur la personnalité d'Irénée, à savoir qu'il était avant tout un homme de l'Eglise, un dispositaire et un témoin de la foi reçue (p. 255). En tout cas le livre présent est une introduction excellente à l'étude de la théologie de l'évêque de Lyon.

Rotterdam, Rosaliastraat 4 J. C. M. VAN WINDEN O.F.M.

Saint Irénée, *De la Plénitude de Dieu*. Textes choisis et présentés par Roger Poelman, Editions Casterman/Editions Maredsous, 1959, 108 pp. (Bible et Vie Chrétienne).

Ce livre contient la traduction d'une série de textes, choisis dans les deux ouvrages de saint Irénée, qui sont parvenus jusqu'à nous: l'*Adversus Haereses*, une réfutation de la fausse Gnose, et la *Démonstration*, un large exposé du contenu de la foi chrétienne. Les textes sont arrangés par l'auteur en chapitres brefs. Chaque text ou couple de textes est précédé de quelques notes d'introduction. En lisant cet ouvrage on admire la profondeur de pensée de l'évêque de Lyon. Oui, ce n'est pas sans raison qu'on l'appelle le premier théologien. Mais plus peut-être que théologien il est témoin, comme l'auteur dit à juste titre dans son introduction, qui est d'une clarté excellente. Dans ces quelques pages il fait revivre devant nos yeux ce grand évêque, qui se souvient encore comment il écoutait avidemment les paroles du vieillard Polycarpe, disciple de Saint Jean; qui vivait dans ce climat de martyre et qui se trouvait devant une hérésie dangereuse, la fausse Gnose. Ce livre témoigne d'une connaissance approfondie de la pensée d'Irénée. Il sera très utile à une première connaissance de ce grand théologien et témoin.

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Origène, Homélies sur Josué. Texte latin. Introduction, traduction et notes de Annie Jaubert (Sources Chrétiennes, No. 71). Paris, Les Editions du Cerf, 1960. 520 pp. in-8°. Pr. 30 NF.

More and more the volumes of the "Sources Chrétiennes" have become editions of the first order, not only on account of the establishment of the texts which they present and of the accuracy and elegance of the French translations but also in view of their annotation and, particularly, of their thorough introductions. The present volume is no exception to the rule: Mlle Jaubert has indeed used her utmost endeavours to make Origen's homilies on Josuah fully understandable to the present-day reader. The text of the Latin translation by Rufinus (for the remnants of the Greek original cf. the end of this review) is based on the critical edition by W. A. Baehrens in the Berlin Corpus (*GCS* vol. 30, Leipzig 1921). The edition of a great number of Rufinus' translations of Origen's homilies on the Old Testament is by far the best work Baehrens ever did; it is practically free from the exaggerated conservatism

in textual criticism which made his *Beiträge zur lateinischen Syntax* (Philologus, Suppl. 12 (1912), 235–556) little more than an endless enumeration of clearly impossible readings; moreover, it rests on a very accurate investigation of the filiation of the manuscripts and of the history of the transmission of the text, as is shown both by his introductions to the single editions and by his monograph *Die lateinisch erhaltenen Origeneshomilien zum Alten Testament*. Texte und Untersuchungen 42, 1 (1916). Thus for the establishment of the text the main work had been done long ago; however, a careful comparison of Mlle Jaubert's text with Baehrens's shows that her revision is by no means uncritical. This does not so much pertain to the (rarely necessary) changes in the choice of the readings – I only mention the convincing substitution of *expurgatis* for *expugnatis* in *Hom.* 6, 1 (p. 184) which is motivated in a note and adopted in the translation but not included in the text – as to the punctuation: more than once the reader will find that the transposition or addition of a comma has made the text readable for the first time. The French translation is both accurate and lucid, and the annotations betray a solid knowledge of the works of Origen and Clement of Alexandria, as also of the history of the literal and allegorical interpretation of the Bible (however, it should be kept in mind that the editor did not aim at completeness in her references to other works of Origen – cf. her statement on p. 70 – and that the consultation of the notes in Baehrens' edition remains necessary). But the chief merit of the present edition is undoubtedly to be found in the lengthy introduction (pp. 9–89), the major part of which (pp. 17–62) is occupied by a thorough and highly interesting study of the interpretation of the theme of the Land of Promise before and by Origen. After this the editor discusses in three appendixes respectively some aspects of Origen's doctrine on the angels, the value of Rufinus' Latin translation, and a number of more lengthy texts which would have taken too much space in the main chapter of the introduction. Finally, some observations are added on the tradition of the text of Rufinus and on the dating of the translation (between 398 and 404 A.D.).

It is not possible within the limits of a review to discuss the numerous interesting problems treated in the dissertation on the theme of the Promised Land. I confine myself to a few additional remarks. On pp. 32/33 Mlle Jaubert discusses the interpretation by Tertullian of the Promised Land as the *caro Domini* in *De carn. resurr.* 6 and 26 and *De carne Chr.* 6 and 9. It might have been useful to add that this interpretation was probably prepared by the fact that in the *De anima* (27, 7), which was composed shortly before these two treatises, the *limus terrae* of Gen. 2, 7 is said to have become Adam's flesh: *Fidelissima primordii exempla. De limo*

caro in Adam. – P. 41, n. 1: For Justin's doctrine of the divine Logos operating through the patriarchs and the prophets a reference might have been added to the particularly important paper of R. Holte, *Logos Spermatikos. Christianity and Ancient Philosophy according to St. Justin's Apologies* (Studia Patristica 12 (1958), 109–168). – P. 45, n. 3: Here the editor supposes a dependance of Tertullian on Justin in his statements concerning Josuah in *Adv. Marc.* III 16 and 18 and *Adv. Judaeos* 9–10. Since for many scholars an influence of Justin on Tertullian is still a matter of discussion, a reference might well have been added to the fourth chapter of G. Quispel, *De bronnen van Tertullianus' Adversus Marcionem* (Leiden 1943), in which it is proved beyond doubt that in the third book of the *Adversus Marcionem* Tertullian drew upon both Justin and Irenaeus.

Finally, I would like to draw special attention to the second Appendix, "Valeur de la traduction de Rufin dans les Homélies sur Josué". Here Mlle Jaubert, who shows herself to be well-acquainted with the relevant literature (I only miss a reference to the important paper by H. Hoppe, *Griechisches bei Rufin*, Glotta 26 (1937), 132–144), gives a very judicious discussion of the question how the value of Rufinus' translations can be established at all. Mainly on account of a careful comparison of the text of Rufinus with three passages chosen from the free but fairly continuous borrowings from the original text of *Hom.* 1–4 and 16–26, which occur in Procopius' Commentary on Josuah (P.G. 87, 1), and, further, with the fragments of the twentieth homily which are found in the twelfth chapter of the *Philocalia*, Mlle Jaubert arrives at the following conclusion (p. 82): "La traduction de Rufin pour les *Homélies sur Josué* se présente ainsi avec de sérieuses garanties, à condition de ne pas lui demander ce qu'elle ne peut donner. Il faut plutôt la considérer comme une libre adaptation, non comme une traduction. Dans l'ensemble, elle donne l'impression d'une longue paraphrase, mais non d'une paraphrase inexacte". As to the possibility of a reconstruction of what Origen actually wrote, she makes the following very judicious remark before entering upon the comparison of the relevant texts (p. 70): "comparaison à poursuivre d'ailleurs sans trop d'illusions et sans prétendre à retrouver le "texte original" d'Origène. En quoi consistait ce texte "original", si Origène n'a pas revu les notes tachygraphiées prises pendant ses sermons?" The only thing to be regretted – and for this the consultation of the edition by Baehrens remains necessary – is to be found in the fact that, whereas a French translation of the fragment occurring in the *Philocalia* is added to the translation of *Hom.* 20 (the text is given in full in Appendix II), the same has not been done for the passages adapted by Procopius.

On the other hand, it should be considered that Procopius was far from quoting Origen literally (cf. the description of his method on p. 71) and, further, that the addition of these texts would have increased the bulk of the book and thereby would have made it more expensive. At all events, it is to be hoped that a comparison of the entire material furnished by Procopius with Rufinus' adaptation will soon be undertaken. Though it is certain that this work would by no means lead to the recovery of Origen's actual words, it would certainly increase our knowledge concerning the technique of the translating of Greek into Latin; much has to be added to the observations by Klostermann in his dissertation *Griechische Excerpte aus Homilien des Origenes* (Texte und Untersuchungen 12, 3). Nobody is better prepared to perform this task than Mlle Jaubert.

Leiden. Witte Singel 91 J. H. WASZINK

Sister M. G. C. Conway, S.S.J., *Thasci Caecili Cypriani De Bono Patientiae, A Translation with an Introduction and a Commentary.* Washington, 1957 (The Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, Vol. XCII) XX, 193 pp. $ 2.50.

The sub-title of this book can make the reader doubt whether the text of the *De bono patientiae* itself is to be found in it; it would have been better to write "Text and translation with . . .". The text of Hartel is given with two minor changes. The translation, which is on the counterpages of the text, is clear and exact. The text is preceded by an introduction and followed by a commentary. In the introduction Sister Conway discusses the occasion and form of the work and gives an outline of its contents. Since Tertullian also wrote a *De patientia*, and Cyprian was an admirer of Tertullian, this outline is compared with that of Tertullian's work. This comparison is followed by a juxtaposition of the corresponding parts in order to show how Cyprian imitated his example. It is greatly to be regretted that this juxtaposition is not followed by a thorough study of both the correspondences and the differences between the two works — as it is now, the relation between Cyprian and Tertullian is not sufficiently brought out. In several cases a more exact comparison might have corroborated the interpretation. For instance, on the words *insolens adfectatae libertatis audacia* (2, 22) Sister Conway says: "Cyprian may very well be speaking here of the Cynic philosophers . . ." but she does not adduce the parallel text of Tertullian (*De patientia*

2): *adfectatio humana caninae aequanimitatis*, which removes every doubt. At all events it is clear that the way in which Cyprian made use of the text of Tertullian is not sufficiently indicated by the term "higher imitation". With regard to St. Augustine's *De patientia* Sister Conway observes: "the style and vocabulary . . . give little evidence of imitation", which assertion is again illustrated by means of a series of parallel texts. *Mutatis mutandis* one may say the same on the method of this comparison as on the former.

The commentary contains many useful notes, especially on the use of the several words in early, Golden, Silver and late Latin but the explanation of the texts is often unsatisfactory. Some examples: to note on *indiscretas pluvias* (4, 7) that *indiscretus* does not seem to be used with *pluvia* by any other author is rather unimportant; one would rather know whether the predicative use of *indiscretus* is found elsewhere. Why does *retributio* in 4, 14 not mean "reward"? Concerning the expression *similem Deo fieri* (5, 18) much more could be given than a number of parallel texts from Cyprian. The statement that in *lavacrum regenerationis* (6, 13) the term *lavacrum* means baptism is not correct (*lavacrum* = "bath"; *lavacrum regenerationis* = "bath of rebirth" = "baptism"). The words *cuius nomine a servis eius nunc diabolus cum angelis suis flagellantur* (7, 5–6) require a fuller explanation; the rite of exorcism should not remain unmentioned here. *Gradior* in 9, 3 is over-interpreted by "walking in the way of faith". The text of Luc. 16, 9 *filii huius saeculi* cannot be adduced as an argument in favour of the assertion that *saeculum* in 11, 5 means "the present life". Why should *saeculum* not mean "world" here? By *pressuris et conflictationibus* in 11, 6 Cyprian does not especially mean persecutions; these are only adduced in 12, 13. Here he has rather in view the troubles of life in general (cp. 12, 12 *praeter varias et adsiduas temptationum pugnas*). In 14, 10 the reading *post gestatam eucharistiam* is to be preferred to *gustata*, not because the faithful received the consacrated bread in their hands, but because of the word *manus* in the sequel of the text; the use of *manus* has its reason in the custom mentioned. On several places (pp. 42, 59, 170) Sister Conway designates ch. 20, 10 *ss.* as a "descriptive definition of patience", which is a curious terminology. Both Cyprian and Tertullian clearly imitate I Cor. 13 which can hardly be called "a descriptive definition of charity". The book ends with several useful indexes, a *index locorum* of the Holy Scripture, of the works of St. Cyprian and the other authors, and a *index nominum rerum locutionum*.

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Saint Ambrose. *Hexameron, Paradise, and Cain and Abel.* Transl. by J. J. Savage, New York, Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1961 (The Fathers of the Church 25). XI, 449 pp. 6$.

This is the first translation into English of the complete text of these works of saint Ambrose. Mr. Savage has undertaken to do a great work and one should only wish that he had performed it successfully. But, if truth must be said, he did not. One can already doubt whether there is much use in a translation of works of this kind without an introduction on the subject-matter and the sources (if possible) and without any explanatory notes. However that may be, if a translation is given, it must at least fulfil the following conditions: firstly, that it exactly renders the meaning of the author, and secondly, that this meaning finds expression in a clear formulation. The present translation does not fulfil these conditions; this defect is caused, as will become clear in the course of this review, by an unsufficient knowledge of the Latin language. Within the limits of this review only some examples can be given.

In *Exameron* I 2, 6 Ambrose, alluding to *Exodus* 2, 11, says about Moses: *accipientem iniuriam de popularibus suis ultus* (p. 5, 16–17 Schenkl). Savage translates: "avenging the wrong done to his fellow countrymen" (p. 6). He should at least have said: "to one of his fellow countrymen". But he seems to understand *iniuriam* as the object of *ultus*, and *accipientem* as *acceptam*. – In the same sentence Ambrose says about Moses: *invidiae sese dedit voluptatique eripuit*. Savage: "he fell into disgrace . . . Wherefore, he tore himself away from pleasure". Let alone that the translation of the first verb is incorrect (*se dare* has a more active sense: 'lay one self open to'), the coherence of the two verbs does not tell to full advantage. The translation of the whole period gives, moreover, a good example of the translator's inability of dissolving longer Latin sentences without perverting the meaning of the author. – Still about Moses Ambrose writes in *Exam.* I 2, 7: *etenim si quod de populo dimittendo diceret a deo acceperat, quanto magis quod de deo loqueretur* (p. 6, 7–8 Sch.). Savage: "For, if he had already accepted from God what he should say concerning the liberation of the people, how much more should *you* accept what *He* should say concerning heaven" (p. 6–7). How he can introduce here the two subjects 'you' and 'He' is hardly understandable. Ambrose, of course, means: "how much more (had he accepted from God) what he (Moses) should say concerning heaven". – In *Exam.* I 4, 12–5, 19 Ambrose discusses the different meanings of *principium*, the first word of *Genesis*. Rendering this passage, a well-known topic in the litterature of this kind, Savage blunders again and again. His translations of p. 10, 7–9; 13, 9–11; 13, 19; 13, 23–24

Sch. are completely wrong. I hope to treat the questions concerning these chapters elsewhere separately. – In his discussion of the four elements Ambrose says at the end of *Exam.* I 6, 20: *Quae pluribus colligere possemus, si quid ad aedificationem ecclesiae ista proficere videremus* (p. 17, 11–12 Sch.). Savage: "We can in many ways demonstrate this, if we observe that these elements are of advantage in the building of a church" (p. 19). But Ambrose does not mean here the use of the four elements in building a church; he only says that there is no use for the Church in a further explanation of the question of the elements. He is alluding to the *aedificatio ecclesiae*, about which saint Paul is speaking in I *Cor.* 14, 12 and saint Basil in *Hexaem.* 29A. – In I 8, 28 Ambrose speaks about the waters, *quibus ante demersa poli huius habebantur exordia* (p. 27, 19–20 Sch.). Savage does not understand that *demersa haberi = demersa esse*, and translates: "in which element some have supposed that this universe of ours, when once immersed, had its primal origin" (p. 31). But Ambrose only says that the world was once immersed in the water.

Warning the false interpreters of Holy Scripture Ambrose says in *Exam.* I 8, 30: *Simpliciter lege, o homo, non tibi ipse foveam pravus interpres effodias* (p. 30, 10–11 Sch.), which, of course means: "Read simply, and do not dig a pit for yourself by false interpretation". Savage 'digs up' the following translation: "Read with simplicity, man; I would not encourage you, a misdirected interpreter, to dig up meanings for yourself" (p. 34). – In the same chapter Ambrose argues: *Quid ergo dicunt quod deus creaverit malum, cum ex contrariis et diversis nequaquam sibi adversa generentur?* (p. 30, 17–19 Sch.), which amounts to: "one opposite does not generate the other". Savage translates: "Why, then, do they say that God created evil, although from principles contrary and opposed nothing whatsoever is generated?" (p. 34). One does not understand how the translator did not feel that this translation is entirely besides the point. Every generation requires opposite principles but Ambrose does not speak about principles at all. He explains, moreover, his meaning by some examples: *nec enim vita mortem generat nec lux tenebras.* These examples should have warned the translator; also the parallel text in the *Hexaemeron* of saint Basil (37C) could have helped him. Now the meaning of the entire passage which follows is perverted. – The same can be said of a passage in I 8, 31. Ambrose states there that a wise man would not list poverty, disgrace, illness and death in the category of evils, *quia nec contraria istis in bonis habentur maximis, quorum alia nobis ex natura, alia ex commoditate accidere videntur* (p. 33, 10–12 Sch.). Savage: "because they are not the opposite of those goods held in the highest esteem – goods which seem to fall to our lot either

from causes which stem from nature or from the favorable circumstance of our lives" (p. 36). According to S., the highest goods come to us from nature, *etc.*, but what Ambrose means to say is this: "because the opposites of these things are not considered as the highest goods, for these opposite things (*i.e.*, wealth, *etc.*,) come to us from nature", *etc.*

It would be easy to give a considerably longer enumeration of mistranslations from the further books of the *Exameron* and from the other two treatises. Thus S. translates the words *deus (videt) in corde, homo in facie* (*Exam.* II 1, 3; p. 43, 13 Sch.), which are the old version of I *Reg.* 16, 7, as follows: "God sees *with* his mind, man *with* his countenance" (p. 47). The first chapters of *Exam.* VI contain a long series of misinterpretations. *De Paradiso* I 2, 11 (p. 271, 4 *ss.*) is completely misunderstood. Since, however, it is impossible to give a complete list of mistranslations, I confine myself to the examples given.

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Sancti Aurelii Augustini, *Sermones de Vetere Testamento*, id est Sermones I–L secundum ordinem vulgatum, insertis etiam novem sermonibus post Maurinos repertis, recensuit Cyrillus Lambot O.S.B., Turnholti 1961. Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina XLI, Aurelii Augustini Opera, Pars XI, 1. XXXV & 658 pp.

La parution de l'édition critique des ces cinquante premiers *Sermones ad Populum* fait époque dans le domaine des études augustiniennes. A côté de plusieurs éditions médiocres d'œuvres augustiniennes parues dans le *Corpus Christianorum*, pour lesquelles le désir de faire vite l'a parfois emporté sur la tendance à la perfection scientifique, cette édition se présente comme une œuvre exemplaire.

La tradition manuscrite extrêmement compliquée des sermons augustiniens, et particulièrement des *Sermones ad Populum*, est une des raisons pour lesquelles cette édition s'est fait attendre si longtemps. Dom Lambot, voulant rendre hommage aux travaux de ses prédécesseurs, a dédié cette édition à Dom Morin et à Dom Wilmart. Toutefois l'essentiel de ce travail admirable a été fait par Dom Lambot lui-même qui, avec un dévouement inlassable, a procédé à l'enquête de la tradition manuscrite des sermons de saint Augustin en général et de chaque sermon en particulier.

Les Mauristes avaient publié cinquante sermons sur l'Ancien Testament. C'est de ces sermons que Dom Lambot nous présente

une nouvelle édition critique. Trois pièces ont été éliminées, à savoir le N° 3 des Mauristes qui n'est qu'un simple extrait de Bède; le N° 40, extrait tiré par saint Césaire d'Arles du *Sermo Frangipane* 2, qui aura sa place dans l'édition complète sous le N° 339; enfin le N° 44 qui est constitué de fragments d'un sermon de saint Augustin, actuellement perdu, fragments rassemblés par Césaire et pourvus d'une conclusion rédigée par lui-même. Ce sermon occupe le N° 142 parmi ceux de Césaire dans l'édition de Morin. D'autre part neuf *Sermones post Maurinos reperti* ont été ajoutés à la collection, dont huit précédemment édités par Morin et un (20A) par Lambot lui-même. Le numérotage des sermons institué par les Mauristes a été conservé. Les sermons parus après les Mauristes sont insérés à la place qu'imposent les passages bibliques auxquels ils se rapportent. Leur numéro d'ordre est celui du sermon des Mauristes qui précède, mais accompagné d'une lettre de l'alphabet et de l'indication de la place que le sermon occupait dans l'édition originale.

L'introduction, merveille de clarté, traite de la tradition manuscrite et des éditions anciennes. On y trouve aussi une bibliographie choisie se limitant aux publications concernant la tradition textuelle, et les questions de chronologie et de topographie.

Dans la première partie de son introduction, l'auteur parcourt les diverses collections dans lesquelles des *Sermones de Vetere Testamento* ont été transmis. Il s'agit en premier lieu de collections antiques, recueils issus directement des collections originales constituées en Afrique à l'époque même de saint Augustin, dont ils ont maintenu plus ou moins fidèlement l'ordonnance et la composition. Dom Lambot a pu identifier sept de ces collections antiques. Puis viennent quatre collections qui sont à mettre en relation avec l'activité littéraire de saint Césaire d'Arles. En troisième lieu sont mentionnés les homiliaires, compilations où sont disposés, suivant le déroulement de l'année liturgique, des sermons de divers auteurs (phénomène qui fait sa première apparition au VIIIe siècle, surtout en Italie). Il résulte du caractère de ces collections qu'elles ne présentent que peu de sermons sur l'Ancien Testament. Finalement viennent les collections médiévales, constituées, au cours du moyen âge, à l'aide de sources diverses, aussi bien de collections anciennes que de recueils plus récents. Ces collections médiévales sont d'intéressants témoins de l'évolution des textes, et révèlent le plus souvent un processus de dégradation.

Quoique la plupart des Sermons sur l'Ancien Testament nous soient parvenus par la voie des collections, quatre sermons, notamment des pièces longues et importantes, n'ont été transmis qu'à l'état isolé, à savoir les sermons 9, 37, 46, 47.

Ce qui précède regarde les problèmes de transmission en général.

Toutefois il ne faut pas oublier que chaque sermon a son histoire à lui. C'est pourquoi chaque pièce est précédée d'une notice explicative, comportant l'indication des collections manuscrites, des principales éditions, des témoignages anciens. On y a ajouté un aperçu des relations des manuscrits entre eux, si possible des données chronologiques et topographiques, et pour terminer la liste des manuscrits utilisés avec leurs sigles. Ces notices explicatives sont parfois de vrais petits chefs-d'œuvre de méthode qu'on voudrait voir étudiés par tous les jeunes savants destinés à s'occuper de problèmes de critique textuelle et d'édition de textes. Qu'on lise à titre d'exemple la notice qui précède le texte du sermon 9.

L'apparat critique est bien présenté et il est d'une clarté parfaite, même dans les cas d'une tradition manuscrite très compliquée. Ajoutons encore un petit détail caractéristique: avec la probité et les scrupules que nous lui connaissons, Dom Lambot a marqué d'un astérisque les variantes adoptées dans le texte, pour lesquelles une autre, figurant dans l'apparat, présente autant de probabilité. Malgré cela j'ai l'impression que presque toujours la variante adoptée est préférable pour des raisons de critique interne.

Somme toute: édition exemplaire qui sera accueillie avec enthousiasme par tous les 'augustinisants'.

CHRISTINE MOHRMANN

Hermann Josef Frede, *Pelagius, der Irische Paulustext, Sedulius Scottus*, Freiburg, Herder, 1961, 165 pp. (Vetus Latina, Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel, Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel, 3). 22.50 DM.

Le titre de ce livre ne donne qu'une idée vague de son contenu. Cette étude excellente est le fruit du travail préparatoire accompli en vue de l'édition de l'Epître aux Ephésiens qui va paraître dans le volume 24 de la *Vetus Latina* de Beuron. On sait que l'histoire de la tradition manuscrite des versions latines des Epîtres de saint Paul est loin d'être claire. La tradition irlandaise du texte constitue un problème particulier, et c'est surtout de celui-ci que M. Frede s'occupe, se bornant essentiellement à la tradition de l'Epître aux Ephésiens. Il faut toutefois compter avec la possibilité que les résultats très importants obtenus par M. Frede par rapport à l'Epître aux Ephésiens se révèlent valables pour d'autres parties du *Corpus Paulinum*.

L'auteur étudie en premier lieu le problème débattu du texte paulinien utilisé par Pélage dans son commentaire sur saint Paul.

A. Souter qui, par un long travail minutieux, a reconstitué le commentaire de Pélage, avait cru d'abord que le texte commenté était essentiellement celui de la Vulgate. Plus tard, partiellement sous l'influence de H. Zimmer, il a changé d'opinion, considérant le texte paulinien commenté par Pélage comme un spécimen de la *Vetus Latina*. D'autre part Dom De Bruyne s'est efforcé de montrer que Pélage a été l'auteur même de la Vulgate des Epîtres de saint Paul.

M. Frede fait ressortir par une analyse minutieuse, et convaincante me semble-t-il, que le texte paulinien de Pélage est celui de la Vulgate dans laquelle un certain nombre d'éléments de la *Vetus Latina* ont pénétré. Essentiellement il ne s'agit donc pas, comme le voulait Souter, de la question de savoir s'il s'agit ou bien de la Vulgate, ou bien d'une *Vetus Latina*, mais du problème de la fréquence, différente dans les divers manuscrits, des éléments VL dans un texte de la Vulgate. Ces éléments, qu'on désigne par le sigle I, ont été très répandus: on les trouve en Italie, en Afrique du Nord, en Espagne, en Gaule et dans les Iles britanniques; certains ont survécu pour avoir pénétré de bonne heure déjà dans les textes de la Vulgate. Le texte de Pélage manifeste donc un phénomène assez commun, qui est le même pour le texte paulinien figurant dans l'interpolation pélagienne de l'Ambrosiaster, pour celui des fragments de Pélage du Vatican, découverts par Mercati, et pour celui des fragments de Fribourg.

M. Frede conclut donc que Pélage a connu la Vulgate de l'Epître aux Ephésiens, que c'est ce texte qu'il a commenté, mais non pas établi lui-même comme le voulait Dom De Bruyne. Ce texte a absorbé un certain nombre de leçons de la VL. Aux pp. 48–58 l'auteur nous en présente l'édition critique.

Il en est autrement en ce qui concerne le texte paulinien qu'on lit dans le Livre d'Armagh, écrit vers 807 à Armagh même par Ferdomnach (D). Ici il s'agit de la VL; on y retrouve l'élément I, combiné avec des restes de l'ancienne tradition K ('Bible de Cyprien'). Quant à ces éléments K, ce sont des restes qui se sont conservés dans des aires latérales, en Espagne et en Gaule. Ainsi D ressemble à beaucoup d'égards aux textes espagnols (Grégoire d'Elvire, Bacchiarius, Paschasius, etc.), mais il paraît surtout lié à la tradition gauloise, telle que nous l'observons chez Hilaire de Poitiers, Reticius d'Autun et Paulin de Nole, lequel doit avoir reçu sa Bible ou bien dans sa ville natale, Bordeaux, ou, plus vraisemblablement à mon sens, au Nord de l'Espagne. De ce caractère mêlé de D, M. Frede croit pouvoir conclure que le texte irlandais de saint Paul tel que nous le trouvons dans D est originaire de la Gaule. Il avance que de cette manière les résultats de la critique textuelle sont en parfait accord avec les données historiques

concernant les origines du Christianisme en Irlande (p. 83). Le texte paulinien dont D est un représentant aurait été importé, entre 400 et 440, de la Gaule en Irlande. Et M. Frede pose la question de savoir si ce ne fut pas saint Patrice lui-même qui emporta d'Auxerre un texte paulinien dont nous avons le reflet dans le Livre d'Armagh. Les éléments de la Vulgate pourraient y avoir été introduits plus tard par suite des contacts irlandais avec la tradition romaine des missionnaires envoyés aux Anglo-Saxons par Grégoire le Grand. Cette hypothèse semble se combiner favorablement avec les résultats obtenus par M. L. Bieler sur le caractère de la Bible de saint Patrice (Biblica 28, 1947, p. 31–58). En même temps elle confirme ce que j'ai cru pouvoir conclure de la langue de saint Patrice concernant les contacts de l'apôtre de l'Irlande avec la Gaule (*The Latin of Saint Patrick*, Dublin, 1961, *passim*). Quoique je sois donc d'avis que tout porte à croire à l'exactitude de l'hypothèse de M. Frede sur l'origine de D, je ne puis m'empêcher de dire qu'il se débarrasse un peu trop facilement de tous les problèmes relatifs à la chronologie et à la vie de saint Patrice.

Reste encore une troisième source à étudier. Le commentaire des Epîtres de saint Paul dû à l'Irlandais Sedulius (qu'il ne faut pas confondre, comme on le fait si souvent, avec le poète espagnol). Ce commentaire, intitulé *Collectaneum in Apostolum*, est une espèce de Catène dans laquelle ont été recueillis beaucoup d'éléments de commentaires patristiques sur saint Paul. Sedulius y a fortement utilisé le commentaire de Pélage. M. Frede nous donne un texte critique du Prologue et du commentaire de la lettre aux Ephésiens, les textes anciens étant inutilisables (p. 107–155). Le texte paulinien de Sedulius se révèle à l'analyse proche de celui de D. Sedulius n'a donc pas – comme on l'avait pensé – emprunté son texte à Pélage, mais il s'est servi d'une version appartenant à la tradition irlandaise qui – quoique ce texte ne soit pas complet – peut corriger en beaucoup d'endroits le témoignage de D.

L'étude savante de M. Frede illustre comment des recherches spécialisées dans le domaine des versions de la Bible et de la critique textuelle peuvent parfois aboutir à des conclusions d'une portée plus large. Les résultats obtenus montrent qu'on ne saurait placer Pélage dans une tradition strictement irlandaise; ils nous donnent des indices des contacts de l'Irlande avec la Gaule; en troisième lieu ils prouvent que Sedulius, originaire de l'Irlande, travaillant à Liège vers le milieu de IXe siècle, puise – en ce qui concerne son texte de saint Paul – dans une tradition irlandaise.

CHRISTINE MOHRMANN

Adalbert de Vogüé, *La communauté et l'abbé dans la Règle de saint Benoît*, (Bruges 1961), Desclée de Brouwer, 559 pp.

Après lecture de cette étude, à maint égard excellente, on se demande pourquoi Dom de Vogüé a donné à son livre ce titre dans lequel il ne fait mention que de la Règle de saint Benoît, tandis que toute son analyse est fondée sur une lecture simultanée de la Règle de saint Benoît et de celle du Maître. En effet, malgré le titre 'rassurant' nous nous trouvons encore une fois sur le terrain débattu du problème, infiniment discuté, des relations de RB et de RM. Dom de Vogüé n'examine pas la littérature immense concernant ce problème, mais il part de la supposition de l'antériorité de la RM comme hypothèse de travail, s'appuyant sur une étude jusqu'ici inédite de Dom Froger (p. 28). Il nous en expose les principaux arguments, qui ne me semblent pas plus convaincants que ceux avancés jusqu'ici. D'autre part Dom de V. n'a pas pris la peine d'étudier le travail important de Mlle Payr, de l'année 1959, qui défend la priorité de la RB, ni d'utiliser la nouvelle édition critique de la RB due à M. Hanslik (1960) [1]. L'auteur constate simplement, à la p. 35: "Il ne nous a pas été possible d'utiliser ces deux ouvrages; nous nous proposons de les discuter ultérieurement."

Malgré ce procédé à peine acceptable du point de vue scientifique, le livre de Dom de V. contient des éléments excellents. Il nous donne une analyse détaillée, pondérée et fine des dix-huit chapitres de la RB qui ont un intérêt spécial pour l'étude de la fonction abbatiale, les confrontant avec les textes parallèles du Maître.

Examinons d'abord quelques-unes des idées générales dont l'auteur s'est inspiré et qu'il expose dans l'Introduction (p. 11–38). Il y a d'abord le problème de la place occupée par la RB dans la tradition du monachisme occidental. Je crois que l'auteur a parfaitement raison quand il insiste sur le fait que l'histoire du rayonnement de saint Benoît n'est pas essentiellement celle d'une famille religieuse constituée autour de sa personne et se propageant à partir de lui – comme c'est le cas des grands fondateurs médiévaux comme un saint François d'Assise ou un saint Dominique – mais qu'il s'agit plutôt de l'histoire de la diffusion d'un document écrit par lui qui s'est recommandé peu à peu aux monastères d'Occident comme l'expression la plus heureuse et la plus pratique de la sagesse traditionnelle du cénobitisme. Saint Benoît d'Aniane, qui imposa au monachisme occidental l'unité d'observance sous la RB,

[1] *Theresia* Payr, *Der Magistertext in der Überlieferungsgeschichte der Benediktinerregel*, Studia Anselmiana 44 (1959), p. 1–84. — *Benedicti Regula*, rec. Rudolphus Hanslik, Wien, 1960 (CSEL vol. LXXV).

est, d'après ce qu'il dit au début de sa *Concordia Regularum* (PL 103, 715A), encore bien conscient des rapports de la RB avec les autres règles cénobitiques. Si à l'époque carolingienne, lorsque l'adoption d'une législation uniforme s'est avérée le seul moyen de rétablir l'observance monastique, la RB s'est imposée comme règle unique, c'est grâce à sa valeur représentative à l'égard de toute la tradition cénobitique d'Occident.

Jusqu'ici je ne saurais qu'être parfaitement d'accord avec Dom de V. Mais si la RB est comme le reflet d'une tradition, d'une doctrine et d'institutions communes, si l'on y trouve beaucoup d'éléments qui figurent aussi ailleurs, si certains passages sont des résumés de Cassien et d'autres auteurs, cela n'élimine pas nécessairement – comme le veut Dom de V. – la personnalité de son auteur: cela ne prouve pas l'absence dans la RB de traits d'une physionomie spirituelle. Un législateur peut faire des emprunts à une tradition, son œuvre peut être un reflet plus ou moins fidèle de ce qui a été créé, peu à peu, par des prédécesseurs et malgré cela faire travail éminemment personnel. Le sceau d'une personnalité peut marquer une fois pour toutes ce qui s'est formé, dans son essence, grâce à une longue évolution collective.

J'approuve Dom de V. quand il voit chez Benoît une forte empreinte égyptienne, pachômienne, quand il assure qu'il faut expliquer certains traits caractéristiques de la RB plutôt par une tradition biblique que par des institutions romaines, mondaines. Quant au cas de *familia*, cité à la p. 19, je crois avec Dom de V. que ce n'est pas en premier lieu la *familia* antique, romaine qui offre un cas parallèle valable. C'est plutôt la liturgie, me semble-t-il, dans laquelle *familia* a adopté un sens spirituel très net qui a exercé son influence sur le sens monastique du mot. Mais je ne saurais m'occuper ici des détails.

C'est donc à juste titre que l'auteur voit dans la RB le reflet d'une longue tradition, foncièrement marquée par le cénobitisme pachômien: mais cela ne réduit pas le rôle de saint Benoît à celui de simple rédacteur (p. 36). Dans le cadre de mouvements et d'institutions traditionnelles, une activité créatrice se manifeste normalement non pas sous la forme d'un renouvellement entier et révolutionnaire, mais sous celle d'un éclectisme, d'une adaptation qui peut faire preuve de sagesse et, parfois, de génie.

Ce sont les conclusions mêmes du travail de Dom de V. (pp. 505–538) qui corroborent, me semble-t-il, ce point de vue. Les analyses très fines de l'auteur montrent la différence énorme entre la spiritualité du Maître et celle de saint Benoît. Les deux règles se présentent, dans le cadre de la tradition monastique, comme des créations personnelles. L'une et l'autre appartiennent à la même tradition spirituelle et institutionnelle, mais avec quelles

différences, malgré le parallélisme, parfois littéral! Le Maître a besoin de tout prévoir et de tout réglementer, il manifeste une tendance nettement casuistique. Des éléments traditionnels, comme celui de la soumission à l'ancien, deviennent chez lui de vraies caricatures. La thèse outrée d'un transfert de responsabilité p. ex. aboutit pratiquement au mot d'ordre: 'Befehl ist Befehl'. Comme Dom de V. l'a bien vu (p. 513), le triomphe catastrophique du système du Maître est atteint dans le traité de la succession abbatiale. Un certain totalitarisme, une logique simpliste et un schématisme naïf tels sont les traits caractéristiques des chapitres analysés de la RM. Et malgré cela le Maître utilise des éléments authentiques de la tradition cénobitique, il combine et il rejette, et dans le choix c'est une personnalité qui se révèle. Il en est de même pour saint Benoît. Il puise dans la même tradition, on retrouve chez lui certains éléments qu'on trouve chez le Maître sous une forme identique, il y en a aussi d'autres et beaucoup de ce qui figure chez le Maître ne figure pas chez saint Benoît. Dom de V. a bien vu que la RB n'abrège pas seulement, mais qu'elle modifie la perspective dans laquelle les réalités de la vie cénobitique sont étudiées. Et "si elle se montre singulièrement vague, ce n'est pas seulement parce qu'elle résume, c'est aussi, et en première ligne, parce que l'intérêt du rédacteur se porte sur des éléments qualitatifs dont la mise en valeur ne laisse que peu de place à la description de l'observance concrète" (p. 517). On ne saurait le dire mieux. A côté de l'absolutisme du Maître il y a, chez Benoît, modération inspirée par un point de vue réaliste.

Ce qui résulte clairement des analyses détaillées c'est que – à côté des passages parallèles et identiques que tout le monde connaît désormais – on peut montrer toute une série de thèmes qu'on cherche vainement chez le Maître, et qui appartiennent à la tradition la plus authentique du cénobitisme: comme p. ex. le thème de la charité, qui peut se réclamer de Cassien, de Basile et d'Augustin, et tant d'autres, discutés aux pp. 524 ss. et *passim*.

A la p. 527 Dom de V. fait la constatation suivante sans en tirer la conclusion qui me semble en découler naturellement: "Le rédacteur" (c'est toujours Benoît) "a surtout retenu de la RM ce que celle-ci offrait de moins original et de plus conforme à la tradition, et il l'a complétée à son tour par des éléments traditionnels. L'œuvre du Maître a perdu chez lui une bonne part de sa hardiesse et de sa puissance. Même littérairement, la RB ressemble plus que la RM à l'ensemble des règles cénobitiques". Si Benoît semble retenir de la RM ce que celle-ci offrait de moins original et de plus conforme à la tradition, c'est que tous les deux ont puisé dans une tradition bien établie. Ce n'est pas que la RB tend à ramener au niveau ordinaire et normal de la littérature cénobitique une

œuvre qui s'en dégageait par son envergure peu commune: le Maître et saint Benoît puisent dans une même tradition, d'une manière très différente. Le Maître, esprit hardi, peu équilibré, fanatique, a imprimé aux éléments traditionnels une direction qui, heureusement, n'a pas été suivie par la postérité. Benoît, de sa part, plus ouvert à ce qui fut l'essentiel de l'héritage cénobitique, moins audacieux, plus mesuré, plus traditionnel a laissé un ouvrage dont la postérité a compris qu'il contenait l'interprétation très authentique d'une tradition dans laquelle la spiritualité de l'Orient et celle de l'Occident se rencontraient de la manière la plus heureuse.

Telles sont les conclusions qui me semblent s'imposer après une étude minutieuse des analyses fines et savantes de Dom de V. Elles sont assez éloignées du point de vue défendu par l'auteur, mais je les soumets à tous ceux qu'intéresse un problème qui a donné matière à bien des discussions, désormais, à mon sens, de plus en plus superflues.

CHRISTINE MOHRMANN

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